STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF

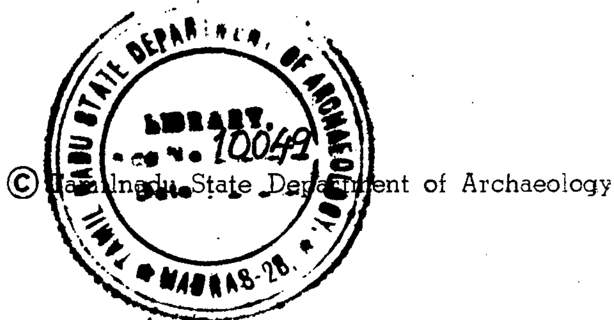
ANCIENT TOWNSHIPS OF PUDUKKOTTAI

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INSTITUTE OF EPIGRAPHY
STATE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
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ANCIENT TOWNSHIPS OF PUDUKKOTTAI

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dite research scholar, who is enjoying his work. This work should inspire young scholars to search for primary source materials, rather than depend on secondary sources of data, which are likely to be subjective, and hence misleading.

I commend this work not only to serious students of South Indian history, for whom it will provide excellent source and research material, but to all those interested in the culture and civilisation of the Tamils. The pragmatic and intricate nature of the revenue and legal administration in the period of the study is proof of the advanced state of Tamil civilisation and culture in the mediaeval and ancient periods We look forward to more such contributions from the author.

New Delhi
July 9th, 1981

R. Venkataraman

An Appreciation

by

Dr. C. Sivaramamurti

Director, National Museum, New Delhi. ***(Retired)***

Shri R. Tirumalai, Member of the Economic administration Reforms Commission, has not only been a very able administrator, having held the high rank of Secretary to the Government of India as one of the seniormost officers of the Indian Administrative Service, but is also a very distinguished scholar devoted to historical and epigraphical studies trained by the great and revered doyen of Indian History in the Madras University. Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, representing the ancient tradition of scholarship that begets scholarship. Shri Tirumalai is specially noteworthy not only for his erudition but also for his humility and exceptional devotion to his Professor. I personally feel that it was the good fortune of Professor Nilakanta Sastri to have had a student so worthy and so devoted to the cause of history as this one, who though in a different field through his profession, has untiringly devoted himself, whenever he could find the time for such studies, to epigraphical and historical research.

Shri Tirumalai has written a number of papers, going into the ancient mode of administration, social life, religious outlook, dispensation of justice in various cases arising out of agrarian disputes, donations offered by kings and nobles and richer folk in temples for religious institutions and their management, going into details of technical problems nearly forgotten and almost an enigma to those who are not in the revenue side with eyes and ears quite open and a vast traditional knowledge to supplement observations and understanding of such elements of survivals in usage as could still throw some light on their proper understanding by flashes of intuition that occur so rarely to any.

Shri Tirumalai's studies in the History of Ancient Townships of Pudukkottai is a magnificent attempt at trying to unravel the

significance of several passages from inscriptions expressed in almost obsolete words, to understand the system of irrigation, tenures, sub-tenures, the collection of land dues, the disposal of cases, both civil and criminal, maintaining the peace of the community through its police system and resolving of disputes, general day to day conduct of affairs and the attitude of the entire community including that of each individual to the temple and its affairs as it was the hub of the activity of the township itself, the territorial integrity, the voice of traditions that changed but little even with the passage of time, the clash of chieftains or change of dynasties, presenting an integrated social order of a robust folk that had the strength of the cohesion of the community, respect for an ethical order that could induce them correct, change, modify or ratify even major decisions as in the case of several temple disputes not to speak of social.

Having himself been a Magistrate and Collector dealing with matters of irrigation and village administration and having gone into precious documents that could throw vast light on such matters in the southern districts of the then Madras presidency, Shri Tirumalai has been able to deal ideally with this aspect of the inscriptions of different dates, Pallava, Chola, Pandya, and Vijayanagara, with a rare confidence, knowledge and intuition to produce a book at once authoritative, interesting and convincing. His deep knowledge has been made available to the readers to easier comprehend his exposition by adding a useful glossary giving an explanation to every word in an inscription that may appear an enigma without its proper elucidation.

It is indeed a matter of great satisfaction to the scholarly world that a book like this has been made available and the Institute of Epigraphy, State Department of Archaeology of Tamil Nadu has to be congratulated on bringing out this book, which is one of a planned series of several yet to follow, which when completed, would present South Indian administration in the early and late medieval periods in the brightest light, by a study of inscriptions, which would prove how valuable epigraphy is to understand not only a history of battles, a history of architecture, a history of art, a history of general life, but also a history of intricate social life with its problems, land and revenue adminis-

tration, irrigation, law and order, social discipline, *Dharmasastras* and local usage all come into play in daily life and administration by wise and impartial elders for dispensation of justice in the spirit of what is given in the *Yakshaprasna* of the *Mahabharata* as stated by Yudhisthira, *dharma eva hato hanti dharmo rakshati rakshitah.* It is no wonder there is a seal from Basarh of the Gupta period, probably of a judge, to establish this principle, and its spirit is amply supported in inscriptions so far away in the south proving that India is one *kula* or family and the same principles of justice or *dharma* apply all over this our vast noble sub-continent.

The world of scholars cannot be sufficiently grateful to Shri Tirumalai for having found time amidst his multifarious duties as one of the most important officers of the Government of India to study and elucidate such knotty problems from inscriptions which by themselves are difficult to read and more so with their enigmatic terms and teeming problems. I am sure that the discerning world of scholars would welcome this book as a very valuable contribution.

New Delhi,
1st July 1981

C. Sivaramamurti

PREFACE

This is a collection of ten historical studies on Ancient Townships in Pudukkottai tract. The aim and scope of this book are explained in the "Introduction" that follows.

The studies avail of a part of the epigraphic data and other material on "Townships in ancient South India" collected over the last 35 years, commencing with my Research Scholarship under Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and pursued with his guidance in my life-long association with him. By confining the presentation to a chosen and distinct tract at a time the studies would, I thought, gain cohesion and integrity-characteristics of the ancient Townships themselves.

The result is the present studies of the ancient Townships in Pudukkottai tract in their variety, their organisational development, and their functioning in different facets. The length of the studies is necessarily uneven, reflecting and varying with the scope and complexity of the subject, and the available volume of evidence on each topic.

This book, in a sense, has become a prototype of the studies on Townships. I contemplate presenting area by area for the whole of South India, with the individual and distinguishing characteristics of each area brought into focus.

I have used, and depended, mostly, on original and primary sources. I have attempted to bring out the import of the words/terms, as borne out by contemporaneous Tamil works (in prose or verse) and by the conserved content of the words therein, with the aid of such works and medieval glosses and the usages therein, and not through any translations of the inscriptions. In this I have brought to bear the discipline I have had under Tamil savants including Prof. S. Vaiya-

puri Pillai, R. P. Sethu Pillai and Prof. A. Srinivasa Raghavan. If the formulation, sometimes, appears quaint, to my mind it gains in authenticity of meaning, and it takes the interpretation nearer the original intention of the subscribers to the documents. I have had the benefit of studying the secondary sources and writings on the subject, but their effect has not been such as to act as an overburden on my research, and to inhibit my own attempt at mining out the original sense and content of the textual occurrence of the terms. This also explains the extensive reproduction of the words and phrases from the (Tamil) texts of the inscriptions. Some of them are archaic; many have been interpreted anew and rendered to bring their authentic import and nuances. If this impedes the free reading of the text by a general reader, I crave his indulgence. For that inconvenience is outweighed by the facility and advantage apparent to a critical student of history, and of ancient diction.

I am most grateful to Sri R. Venkataraman, Union Finance Minister, for the very kind and encouraging FOREWORD that he has given to this work. I value it not only as an appreciation coming from a scholar-statesman but also as an expression of his affection for me. It will be my endeavour to live up to the commendation received at his hands, and also to fulfill his expectation of further contributions on the subject. Despite all his official and onerous preoccupations, he has so kindly helped me with this FOREWORD at the earliest. I am most grateful to him.

To Dr. Sivaramamurti as a doyen of Scholars in Indian History, and art and culture, I am deeply indebted. An appreciation of such a scholar of repute is in itself a most coveted recompense for all the effort and endeavour that has gone into this work.

I would like to acknowledge the unstinted assistance and help of the Tamil Nadu Department of Archaeology and its head, Dr R. Nagaswamy. I owe to him the beautiful plates and maps illustrating the work and several suggestions while

writing this book. I also owe the copious index prepared to his staff. He has taken pains to get it printed in the Departmental Press with speed and elegance. My thanks are also due to the staff of the Press.

I have to specially thank Sri K. G. Krishnan, Chief Epigraphist, Government of India, Mysore, who has promptly helped me with several unpublished texts of inscriptions. I am grateful to Sri I. D. Mathur, the Director-in-charge, National Museum, who has helped me with a photograph of a rare Nataraja bronze from Tiruvarangulam, now kept in the National Museum, and has also permitted me to publish it as an illustration in my work. Sri I. Kartikeya Sarma, Superintending Archaeologist, Temple Survey Project (South), Madras, has also helped me with a number of photographs of the Temples and Sculptures in Narttamalai and Kudumiyanmalai. I have great pleasure in acknowledging his help and kindness.

I thank Sri T. Govindan and Sri C. N. Ramasubramanyan who sacrificed their leisure and helped type the manuscript taking care to reproduce correctly the numerous proper names now out of vogue that occur in the text. Sri S. N. Tiwari has helped me in preparing the map and the paradigm to illustrate the land tenures and I wish to acknowledge his help.

I would recall gratefully my friend Dr. V. K. Ramachandran Pillai of Pudukottai who thoughtfully presented me a copy of Pudukottai Inscriptions on 22-10-1946, and I think I have discharged my long-standing debt to him by the full use I have made of his present.

Finally, I wish to pay my grateful homage to my Professor (late) Sri K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, whose love and affection for me were unbounded. He chose this subject for me, a subject into which the career he encouraged me to take has given me a good bit of insight.

10th July 1981 **R. Tirumalai**

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INTRODUCTION

"The History of Townships", wrote Maitland, "appeals to a wide range of sympathies"[1]. It traces the beginnings and development of the community activity, and its organised behaviour, in its natural location. It depicts the part played by the institutions, collective or communal,[2] local and royal, in the everyday life of the community and individuals. It helps identify the changes wrought on these institutions and activities over the ages, and by political and social forces at work. It pictures the agrarian community formations, and brings out available facts of economic and social history related to or conditioned by such formations. It also, in a manner, concretises the juristic concepts of the times, and aids the study of historical, and sociological jurisprudence-the former as a continuing stream, and the latter as a study of jurisprudence in the social setting of the times. Individuals who had played a noteworthy role in the affairs of the Townships present themselves as live characters on the scene, and their joys and sorrows are sometimes reflected in it. In short, by fixing the community in its natural setting and environment the study of Townships helps recapture their variety, their cohesion and integrity, and the intensity of life and activity within, in their "local habitations" with their "names".

The term "Township" needs an explanation. In modern usage it has come to be appropriated by a part of human settlements in an urban concentration. Etymologically it is derived from the German word "Tun", meaning a hedge.[3] It not only refers to a well-marked territorial area but also the community-the "COMMUNITAS"-inhabiting it. Its connotation is agrarian, and it denotes land, the habitation in its confines, and the community residing in it.[4] It aptly denotes the area of the community's interests and activities, their agricultural pursuits and

identity. The term "Township," then, is an apt rendering of the Tamil term "Ūr"[5], (or Grāma in Sanskrit) which, of course, carries with it, the 'Ūrār'. For the Ūr without the Ūrār, is an eggshell without the egg.

The subject is best studied in as compact a tract as possible with geographical homogeneity and social cohesiveness. It will be as tempting as it is easy to generalise, stringing together pieces of evidence from diverse contexts and locations and find some verisimilitude in them all. That will not be true history. To steer clear of the error of "historical averaging" and to re-capture the townships' functioning in its fullness, and not merely in its contours, the subject is dealt with tract by tract.

Pudukkōṭṭai Tract–by which the three taluks of Kuḷathūr, Tirumeyyam and Ālanguḍi are denoted-offered itself as a convenient and well-sustained area for such a study. Firstly, these Taluks constituted the native state of Pudukkōṭṭai till their merger with the then Madras State in 1948. Ancient customs and manners, social and religious practices, the agrarian economy and holdings and their obligations, and even some archaic legal traits had lingered the longest in this area. Some of them came to be abolished only after the merger.

It is not suggested that the tract characteristics did not extend beyond. Indeed there was much in common with the dry red-soil areas of Tiruppattur Taluk and the rain-fed lands therein and Tirumeyyam Taluk; between the arid and inhospitable Arantāngi Taluk and Ālanguḍi, and between the Kāḍārambam (dry) south-eastern Taluks of Tiruchirāppaḷḷi and Gandarvakōṭṭai uplands of Tanjāvūr District and Kuḷathūr Taluk. Social and economic transactions interlacing the history of these areas could be cited. Only advantage is taken for convenience of study, of the well-defined territorial division that was extant and had preserved some of the ancient usages and customs more than other tracts.

Secondly, the area was almost all rainfed and even the big tanks were filled by the jungle stream depending on monsoon

freshes. It was either dry or irrigated by rainfed tanks, and these sources were supplemented by wells. The resident population was predominantly, and invariably the agriculturists. They besides the vēḷārs, mostly belonged to the economically backward and weaker sections in those strata of society classified as lesser "castes and tribes of South India", to borrow Thurston's title. Hence the pronounced categories of townships were those in which the ūrār and the Nāṭṭār conducted their affairs Next in importance were the Nagaram (merchant Township) and the agriculturist-residents of garrison township (paḍaipaṟṟus) who were liable to be conscripted in times of strife. The Brahmadēyas or the Brahmin residential townships with their Sabhās were comparatively few, and even in their sprinklings the strength of their population appeared to be but small. Hence the tract presented the typical life and organisation of the predominant constituent categories of the population. Here the sophistication of the Brahmadēyas and the wealth of documentation that went with agrarian prosperity and the life of the land-based literati was less conspicuous. This history mirrors the very earthy, hard, and at times the "raw" characteristics of a people, robust and rustic in their spontaneity, trying to grapple with the inherent odds of Nature and soil and, gradually, succeeding in extension of agriculture. Their values were abiding and characterestic of the times The needs of the community and those reflected in the Temple requirements and rituals appealed to them and found individual and collective response. Their emotions, sometimes violent, were given vent to in the family feuds, and clan enmities that marred the peace of the community. Often, these resulted in remorse and expiation before the deity for the loss of life and property that had occurred; still composition of feuds was no guarantee against their recurrence. The evidence then, yields a true reflection of the demographic preponderence and their affairs.

The tract lay in between the powerful kingdoms of the Cōḷas on the north, and the Pāṇḍyas in the south; besides it

was the home of powerful chieftains like Irukkuvēḷs and Muttarayars who changed their loyalties with the changes in dynastic fortunes. As a consequence, the tract was frequently the scene of conflict and this invested it with an additional point of interest-to see the influences or impact of such conflicts of Empires and what compulsions they had on the local community-the townships-in their economic life. The same kind of interest was sustained later, when Vijayanagar rule extended to the tract, and the agrarian system and township organisation underwent further changes. The tract lends itself for study, as a theatre of economic and administrative transitions occurring through its history. It bears the marks of the watershed periods of South Indian history, as well as of its sandwiched location.

An incidental advantage accrues to the study from the choice. The erstwhile Durbar, with enlightened pride in its past, had published the texts of the inscriptions, trying to arrange them chronologically based on the historical knowledge at the time, as early as in 1929 together with a chronological list.[6] True, the readings are not perfect and admit of revision. The chronology, also, could bear modification. The results of later and updated scholarship have been availed of also in this account. But by and large, the texts yield a fund of information and data. These when viewed in the normal confines of township help reconstruct their history in its true and distinct perspective. The Pudukkōṭṭai Manual (Vol. I & II) has also used this material but, within its scope, at best, it can only be sketchy and not interpretative.

Sources

The sources for the studies are almost entirely epigraphic. The inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State (Texts) and the later and revised texts for those published in the South Indian Inscriptions by the Government Epigraphists form the basic sources. Where appropriate, available literary evidence has also been utilised. By their very nature such literary references are too general or panegyric and afford but little direct testimony. At

best, their value is corraborative.

Inscriptions are of two types - (1) documents of grants of land or land and other dues or both, and of endowments for services, and (2) documents of tenancy entered into by the Temple and Townships with individuals or of sale, setting out the terms and obligations of the tenants and of the vendees. These afford evidence "by exception" of the general pattern of land-holdings but yield ample data on modes of landholdings and the varieties of forms of tenures and sub-tenures. If this evidence lacks directness of the predominant category of the peasant holdings, we are not without clear or direct evidence of the nature and obligations of such holdings and the burdens they had in the form of land dues and services to the State, the Nāḍu and the Ūr or the Township, and the temple. Above all, the documents, if somewhat conventional in form, are explicit, and being instruments for enforcement of obligations, are detailed. They convey the tenurial characteristics of the times, True, some of the terms used are still obscure and interpretation ventured is inferential and tentative. But by and large, the available data are adequate to analyse their import and draw conclusions.

The evidence is representative of a significant segment of the Township activity namely administering Temple grants and endowments, arranging for the cultivation of such lands, enforcing the obligations of the holders to the State, and the Nāḍu, the Temple and to themselves, besides the utilisation and disposal of Township holdings-in-common. The obligations of or those undertakan by the Townships to the State and the Temple within also could be gleaned. This evidence is atonce a pronounced facility and limitation, but the more of the former. It is repetitive and we get to know most of the affairs of the different varieties of the Townships in these aspects, but less of the particular activities of the Townships, not falling within this common segment.

Inscriptions also throw light on the community disputes and their settlement, and the feuds among the chieftains in the

tract. They also yield a variety of data on the economic and social conditions of the times.

Methodology

The data gathered is subjected to intensive examination and with collateral evidence obtainable from adjoining townships. Because the scene and focus of activity and the area from which the evidence is drawn coincide the interconnectedness of the transactions and their natural sequence are unfolded from the inscriptions. The gradual development of the distinct parts of the township, their residential population, their individuality, the stages of expansion of Temples and the leaders of the society who took part in it, the royal officials or chieftains who helped such expansion and the growth of the townships, and the force of persuasion they carried with the local community to contribute towards such growth, the family ties and events of the people-all these unravel themselves with a spontaneity. This results from the intimate linkage of evidence in its natural context that the methodology facilitates. In short, it helps to see the Townships and the activity within steadily, and see it whole.

The presentation is done in two parts-The first five studies trace the beginnings and development of individual townships, and the temples therein. The latter ware the centre and focus of the former in their communal behaviour and activity. The aim is to present the history of a township of each variety or type noticed, and the manner of its functioning and the men who stand out in its affairs. The first is a merchant township, a Nagara. The second is a township of garrison holdings *(paḍai-paṛṛu)*. The next two are larger townships of regional significance with hetrogenous elements contributing to their growth and activity and hence the larger group of villages constituting the Nāḍu plays a conspicuous part therein. One of these, Kuḍumiyāmalai, has perhaps the longest and largest volume of evidence of its growth. But Tirumeyyam, which also dated from about the same time as Kuḍumiyāmalai,

has far less data to furnish. This last is a predominantly Dēvadāna Township with the sprinkling of Brahmin population constituting the Sabhā, whose life and interest centered round the celebrated shrine. The term Township covers all these varietie,s the ūr, the Nagara, the Paḍaipaṟṟu, and the Brahmadēya.

The next five studies bring out the structure and organisation, to the extent evidence permits, and the functional content of Townships in their different aspects. Together, they attempt to present the Townships and their operational dynamic, both as a community and through the individuals. To avoid repetition where an episode or the evidence is relevant for, and is used in more than one study it is discussed in full detail under the most appropriate topic and is only set out in all others in its minimal teleological value.

Each study again, is presented in two sections. First the entire evidence is marshalled, and all the facts that could be elicited and the conclusions drawn are set out. Then a statement summing up the inferences and results is presented at the end of each, preserving the integrity and historical development of the subject. While the latter part might interest the general reader, the former could be of interest to the student of history or a reader who is curious to know more of the subject, and in fuller detail. The aim is to retain the flavour of the epigraphic idiom, and their rendering in an alien language, occasionally, may appear exotic. Fidelity to the text would crave the indulgence of the reader for such quirks in expression.

The conclusion attempts to weave the threads of social and economic features into a fabric, less to generalise than to recapture the fullness of the Townships, and how they were activated or reacted.

"Periodisation"

An explanation is necessary on the intention behind classifying the evidence under different periods-Pāṇḍya, Cōḻa, Vijayanagar etc. This "periodisation" is conventional. But it is not meant to convey that there were distinct and peculiar char-

acteristics exclusively relatable to each period, or that these were the deliberate results of each dynastic contribution. Nor is it suggested that, but for the dynasties, the tenor or texture of the life and the age would have been very different from what they were. The integrity of Township life and the continuity of its tradition would negate any such attributes for each period, though noticeable changes or contributions by individuals in each period-unconscious though they be-did influence the growth of the Townships. This is the more evident in some periods or under some dynasties than in others, and it also varied from place to place.

The "periodisation" is used as handy, ready-made time-marks in the pages of history. The time-frame that has come to be associated with each ruling dynasty serves as a convenient but artificial division of the long stretch of time, almost from the 6th or 7th century to the 17th. The inscriptions are also dated mostly with reference to the regnal years till the 14th century when Saka era came to be adopted.

There is a negative reason. Classifying the data by centuries may not convey, at present, the same connotation or association of time and events Nor can it even denote the separate time-spreads to be kept in view. Social and economic trends creep through the times, sometimes concurrently, at other times overlapping one another, but often imperceptibly, like clouds in the sky, until they distinctly emerge as discernable features with form. "Periodisation" can hardly do justice to such a phenomenon. Nevertheless, in the absence of a more satisfactory basis, it is adopted as an aid for classified analysis of evidence and presentation, though it is not intrinsically functional for the history of Townships

Chronology, again, has to be much more determined and precise in political history. But in an account of Townships and their activity it can afford to be less precise so long as the chronological and evidential context is kept in tact. This caveat, indeed, has to be entered when dealing with Pāṇḍyan

inscriptions. They, particularly, torment the historian with rulers of the same name with only the alternating titles of Jaṭāvarman or Māṛavarman as the sole aid to distinguish and fix each in his time More so, because the political history of the Pāṇḍyas is still far from being complete. The pioneer work of Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri still holds the field. The subject awaits a fuller and further working out in detail. The astronomical calculations to fix the dates cannot also be solely relied upon nor can they be decisive.

Within such limitations, attempts have been made, as far as possible, to relate the inscriptions each to its appropriate time-frame. The date of the inscription is utilised as a means for this limited purpose, namely, not to read the evidence out of context.

Aim & Scope

The aim and scope of this work can be discerned from what has been stated above. The studies trace from available epigraphic data the beginnings and growth of individual Townships, typical of each variety, and their history. They present the individuals and the many sections of the community who contributed towards their growth. The second part tries to analyse and present the functional content of the organisations and of the communities whose instruments they were, and how they conducted their affairs. The socio-economic fabric was, essentially, agrarian, and in the main, their activities were related to land, agriculture, tenurial and sub-tenurial obligations, irrigation and modes and practices of regulating irrigation. This last was the most crucial for the growth of the tract which nature had not favoured adequately. The system of village watch and ward, of social and community verdicts and settlement and compounding of disputes and crimes, and protective covenants were other basic facets of township activity. These last are presented perhaps with a far larger volume of data collected than are available hitherto in any one conspectus for any one area. The feeling that

inscriptions throw but little light on the judicial system and procedure is sought to be dispelled. Attempts to correlate or distinguish the practices as evidenced by these case-studies with the principles and procedures in the Dharmasāstras have also been made.

The result is a collection of ten studies which cover a variety of the Townships and a wide gamut of their functions-their growth, their day to day conduct of affairs, their role in irrigation and public works, in land and revenue administration, in conferring, changing and ratifying tenures and sub-tenures and their obligations, and in police system and preserving the peace of the community and in resolving disputes. These activities are viewed in their natural setting, retaining the territorial integrity and cohesion of the community.

The scene remains constant but times change. The evolution of social and economic trends and administrative practices and changes and how they came about from time to time are also indicated. The historical relevance of political changes and their impact on the Townships is also suggested. If any one period should be chosen (arbitrarily!) as the "Clear Divide" in the period of these studies, it could be identified as the 15th century, after the extension of the Vijayanagar and Nāyak rule. But even earlier, despite the long-held consistency and persistence of the vogues and the practices, the Townships had reacted palpably to the stresses and strains; how they did is set out in relief. In this respect, the studies provide a cross-section of the socio-economic history of the region. They contain an aggregation of facts and analysed data set in place not hitherto available in any one work. They also attempt new interpretative analysis and inferences.

Finally the studies attempt to recapture the ethos and the status of the community and its life, traces of which lingered till almost within the memory of the living generation. But the break with that contiguity is now tending to become complete. The vestiges of the known system of knowledge of

the past which could help unravel the workings of the mind and their actions in their context are also fast fading into oblivion. Even the phraseology and terms used in the inscriptions are rendered archaic, and the more difficult to comprehend and interpret. Tamil is a language which still, with justification, can claim to retain its vogues unchanged and its inherent strength, despite its tolerance of changes. Nevertheless a sample of quaint terms culled from the inscriptions is provided in the note appended to the studies.

Every age in history is an age of transition. But the current, at least to its contemporary participants, can well mark a cleavage that renders the times under study the more distant and elusive. For that was a way of life no longer noticeable even in its last hideouts, the villages. The book attempts to recapture, in some measure, the practices and the motivations of that community of the beyond. It thus tries to reflect however faintly, as in a smoked mirror, the happenings of an age which has suffered eclipse.

---

1 F.W. Maitland : 'Township & Boroughs'

2 The avoidance of the word 'corporate' is deliberate. For the concept of 'corporateness', that super-individuality or the 'itness', losing the severality of the components of the group or community, at least to my mind, cannot be predicated of the South Indian Township from the available evidence. The township bodies are invariably referred to as *'Sabhayar'* *'Urar'* and *'Nagarattar'* and *'Nattar'*. The phrase *'Uraga Isainda'* or *'Nadaga Isainda'* is sufficient only to vouch for their collective character.

The word 'communal' is use throughout in this book in its proper and etymological sense namely, belonging to the community, or the people in the Township.

3 It will be pertinent to recall that in South India, too, township boundaries were demarcated often by a female-elephant circumambulating the area, and then planting prickly pear along its course, or by planting stones'.

4 Confer: 'History of English Law' by Pollock & Maitland-Vol. 1 p. 564

5 A late Tamil Lexicon 'Sulamani Nigandu' (16th century) also describes 'Gramam' as 'Nirpannai Sulur Gramam', a habitation hemmed in by the cultivated fields all round and with water facilities. *Sendan Divakaram,* (C. 8th century) edited by Sri Tandavaraya Mudaliar (1839) also has this definition.

Suṛanda nīrum vayalum sūḻnda ūr
Grāmamāha Kiḻakkapaḍumē.

But I recollect late Sri. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai telling me that this passage did not occur in the palm-leaf manuscripts of *Divakaram* he had been examining.

6 It will be a useful contribution to re-edit *Pudukottai Inscriptions,* adopting revised and correct readings.

NAGARATTAR-MALAI
(Narttamalai)

Nārttāmalai is a village nestling at the foot of a group of low hills, about 17 Kilometres from Pudukkottai in the district of that name. The present name is an abbreviation of "Nagarattār-malai" (i.e. hills of the Nagarattār or merchants).

In early times these hills were the resort of Jaina ascetics who retired to the natural caverns in the folds of the hills. The place was also located in the ancient highway connecting Tiruchirapalli and Tanjore belts with the Irukkuvēḷ capital of Koḍumbāḷūr and the Pāṇḍya country to the south. Around it were several rock-cut shrines of the Pallava period for example Malayaḍipaṭṭi and Kunnāṇḍārkoil on the east, Sittannavāsal and Kuḍumiyāmalai on the south; Koḍumbāḷūr the capital of the Irukkuveḷs lay to its west, all within 16-24 kilometres radius.

Inscriptions in this village and the vicinity, 36 in all, could be classified as under :—

Pallava times	...	2
Imperial Cōḻa	...	11
Pāṇḍya	...	17
Vijayanagar	...	1
Post-Vijayanagar	...	5
Total	...	36

The two earliest inscriptions introduce the chieftains who were responsible for excavating a tank and a sluice constructed therein, and also for excavating a temple in the western hillock. The benefactor who constructed the tank, Aṇimata Ēri, was Vanṛimadatta Tamiḻadarayan *alias* Mallan Viḍuman[1].

The second, a more important[2] one was dated 7th year of Vijaya Nrpatunga Vikrama Pallava (A.D. 866). The rock-cut

temple in the western hillock was caused to be excavated by Viḍēlviḍugu Muttarayan's son Sāttan Paḻiyili. The latter's daughter constructed the *Mahāmaṇḍapa*, the sacred Bull (*Rshabha*) and the *maṇḍapa* (*Rshabha koṭṭil*) and *Balipīṭha* of the temple. His sister, Siriya Nangai who was the wife (*pukka*) of Minavan Tamiḻadiyarayan *alias* Mallan Anantan provided for the Arcanābhōgam service in the temple. Anyone who caused hindrance to the endowment was to pay a penalty of 25 *kaḻanju-pon* to the king. The temple was called *Paḻirpili* or *Paḻiyili Īswaram*, after the name of the chieftain who caused the excavation of the rock-cut temple, and had two generations of its members to enlarge and provide for it.

The Jaina vestiges in the Āḻuruṭṭimalai[3] were ancient and even later in Pāṇḍyan times continued to exist. In Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's time two Jaina disciples, Kanakacandira-paṇḍitar's disciple Darmadēva ācāriyan, and another Tirupallimalai Āḻvār's disciple sold 2 *mā* of land which was being enjoyed by them as *arcanābhōgam* and had formed part of the *Paḷḷiccandam* of Nāyanār Tirumānmalai Āḻvār in Periya Paḷḷivayal.[4]

Another Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān inscription[5] from Bommimalai granted lands in Koṟṟamangalam in Tensiruvāyil Nāḍu with all taxes remitted as *Iṛayili Paḷḷiccandam* (tax-free endowment) two shares for Tiruppaḷḷimalai Nāyakar and one share for Ten-Tiruppaḷḷimalai Nāyakar. The record was addressed to the uḍayārs (custodians) of the Jaina temples and signed by Palandīparāyan, Villarāyan and Tennavadarayan in the year 675 of an unspecified era. If it could be related to the Kollam era, the corresponding date could be 1499 A.D.

These would attest the lingering Jaina Temples and their properties even in later historical times.

The Vijayālaya Cōlīsvaram was also constructed much earlier than Tirumalai-Kaḍambīswara temple. The former originally built by Sembūdi *alias* Ilaṅgōvadi-Arayan (an Irukkuvēḷ chieftain) was destroyed by rain (*maḻai idittaḻiya*)[6] It was renovated (*pudukku*) by Mallan Viḍuman *alias* Tennavan Tamiḻadarayan.

This rebuilding could have occurred in or about the time of Vijayālaya Cōḻa. Perhaps this Mallan Viḍuman was identical with excavator of Aṇimata Ēri, if *Vanṟimadatta* could be taken as his title or a different scion of the same family.

But it was not till the time of Rājarāja I, that the *nagara* Township came into specific focus. In fact, the fortunes of the *nagaram* appeared to have been inextricably bound up with the power of the Imperial dynasties, one of the direct impacts of which was on trade and commerce, and wide an extensive contacts within the country and without. It was not therefore an accident that the largest quantum of evidence on the functioning of the *nagara* pertained to the period of Imperial Cōḻas and the Pāṇḍyan Suzerains of 'the IInd empire'. The evidence would suggest a rhythmic ebb and flow of the fortunes of this *nagara*[7] with the rise and fall of the Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya expansionism.

The earliest inscription of Rājarāja I was dated in his 22nd year (A D. 1007)[8] from the Tirumalai-Kaḍambūr Temple which was added, perhaps, during that reign. There appeared to be some calamity *(Pramādam)* that befell Periyapaṟṟu-Kaṇḍan of Pananguḍi of Kīḻattāyanallūr in Annavāyil Kūṟṟam and in propitiation for his benefit (*Ivanai sāṟṟi*) a lamp and 2 *kaḻainju-pon* were deposited. And against that deposit one *nāḻi* of ghee was to be supplied per month by a resident of Kunṟattūr, Mūdātān Cāṇakkan. The Māhēśvaras of the temple were to protect it

An inscription of the 28th year (A.D. 1013)[9] of Rājarāja I, introduced the Nagarattār *of Telingakulakālapuram* in *Annavāyil Kūṟṟam* and the merchant township had taken one of the titles of Rājarāja for its name. It was located in Kōnāḍu in Kēra-lāntakavaḷanāḍu.

The Nagarattār granted lands, Mēdivayal and Arankanēri (named after the father of the beneficiaries?) for the piper service to Arangan......tānan, and Arangan Ālan, who were the accredited pipers of the *Nagaram*, to stand forth without fail

with five men for performing the service in the temple of Tirumalaikaḍambūr Mahādeva. The lands were said to be within the *nagara* boundaries (determined) by circumambulation by the female elephant (*piḍi naḍanda*) for them (*engaḷukku*).

From these data a few inferences could be drawn: firstly, the grant was made not long after the formal constitution of the *nagara*; secondly, the temple of Tirumalai Kaḍambar was also built there-abouts and services were being provided for therein by the Nagarattār assigning the land. Thirdly, the limits of the *nagaram* then constituted were fixed by the elephant circumambulating the traverse of the village boundaries, and lastly, the *nagaram* could allocate lands from out of the holding in common for the temple service.

The next bunch of records were dated early in the reign of Rājēndra II, from the 3rd to the 5th year (A D 1055-57). These gave fuller details of the functioning of the *nagaram*. In between, during the further expansionist period of the Imperial Cōḻas, the *nagaram* should also have prospered and grown. Contacts with the Western India and the Mysore plateau already opened up could have been strengthened after Rājēndra II's victories over the Cāḷukyas.

During this period while the names of the *nagaram* and the *Kūṟṟam* had remained the same, the *vaḷanāḍu* had been renamed as " Iraṭṭaipāḍikoṇḍa Cōḷa vaḷanāḍu ", celebrating the greatest victory of Rājēndra over the Cāḷukyas at Koppam. In the 3rd year of his reign (A.D. 1055)[10] a merchant of the village had provided for a lamp and 3 *sandhis* for which he had deposited gold with the Siva Brāhmanas of the temple.

A record[11] of the next year (A.D. 1056) by far is the most interesting, but the first part of each line was built in. This seemed to convey that there was a controversy regarding a marriage involving Aruḷmoḻi (Seṭṭi) and it came to a head on the day of his nuptials *(kaṭṭilēra)* and in the course of this dispute, one lady (*Cetticci*) had poisoned herself to death (*Nanju kuḍiccu sāva*). In propitiation thereof, the larger body of Tisaiāyirattu-

annūṟṟuvar of the (Nānā) Dēsis and others installed a Diety, Sangu-Paramēśvari and......Namban *alias* Māṇikka Ceṭṭi deposited 2 *kaḻainju* of gold for 3 *sandhis* and a lamp service at *sandhi.* The endowment was to be administered by two *vāriyams*. (Committees)...*Dhaṇma Vāriyam* and *Eṇma Vāriyam.* The reference to *Vāriyam* could not be amplified for lack of details, and the incomplete nature of the record. But would *eṇma vāriyam* refer to the numerical composition of the Committee which consisted of 8 members?

In the 5th year of Rājēndra Cōḻa II[12] (A.D. 1057), the nagarattār of this township gave a fully concurred agreement for the redistribution of the lands based on a survey of the land (*Nilam aḻappikka*) which was done at the instance of Mēḻiyān Kunṟiyur nāṭṭu Mūvēnda-Vēḷār who was looking after (the *nāḍu*) for Toṇḍaimānār. The officials who participated in the survey were *Kaṇkāṇi,* Kumārattaguḍaiyān Mūvēndan Candirasēkharan, the local merchant Bhaṭṭan Tiruvān, Amudan Paḷḷikoṇḍān Veyyakkuṭṭi Pirāntakan, Muttan Dēvan, Ceṭṭikunran, Madurāntakan.

The *Kaṇkāṇi* was Rājēndra Cōḻa Brahma-ceṭṭi for the Nagarattār(?). Nāgan Nakkan Tiṭṭan was the accountant.

The earlier *dēvadāna Kumāravayal* was excluded. The distribution was done as follows:—

Lands in	To
Kīḻattāyanallūr, Kunṟattūr, Munṟan Kuḍikkāḍu, Kaṇṇanvayal, ...(*1 māvarai*)	Gangaikoṇḍa Cōḻa Anukkacilaiceṭṭi, Rājādhirāja Cilaiceṭṭi, Kaḍārankoṇḍa Cōḻa Cilaiceṭṭi, Rājarāja Danmaceṭṭi.
	The vacant housesites were apportioned and distributed to the tenants holding the land.

Arcanābhōgam land(*1 māvarai*) Kīḻattāyanallūr land (*2māvarai mundrikai*) including newly re-claimed land (*Pudutiruttu*)	Jayamkoṇḍacōḻa Cilaicetti and the tenants occupying the vacant plots shall be parcelled out the house-sites (*Kūriḍuvadāgavum*)
Similarly, Noccivayal, Pasumpirai ......Paḷḷivayal (*2 mākāni*)	To......... (names lost) and the tenants who shall parcel the vacant house-sites among themselves.

This inscription would bear some comments. First, a measurement survey had been carried out and additional lands and newly reclaimed lands were brought to notice for distribution. (ii) The survey involved a large number of royal or the subordinate royal officials and the representatives of the *nagara* to superintend and properly account for the lands. (iii) Three distinct categories of the *nagaram* constituents were noticeable: (a)Brahma-ceṭṭi, (b) Cilai-ceṭṭi, and (c) Daṇma-ceṭṭi

It would be an interesting sociological study to understand the ramifications of the classifications. A Tiruvaranguḷam record[18] seemed to refer to some groups/sections each of which was represented among the signatories. Among them, inter-alia, "*Cilaiceṭṭiyārku Samainja Inbaperumāl*" was one. A Koḍumbāḷūr record[14] also referred to two categories of Nagarattār (*Iranḍu Vagai Nagarattār*) and not to two *nagarams* as was mistook by the Pudukkottai State epigraphists.

Two more records of the same year gave additional details. The Nagarattār had provided for water to be brought for the sacred bath of Siva in the temple at 5 pots per *sandhi* for 3 *sandhis* a day for which apparently an endowment was made with them by a merchant of Sōmakēralapuram in Miḻalai-nāḍu in Rājēndrasingavaḷanāḍu[15]. Provision was also made by the Nagarattār for supply of paddy at 6 *nāḻis* per day for the whole year for the offerings at the midday service *(uccampodai)* for the goddess *(Nambirāṭṭiyār)* in the same temple.[16]

The next 4 records pertained to the reign of Kulōttunga III, during its latter part from 27th to 38th year (A.D. 1205-1216). It could be seen that this flush of data synchronised again, with the third compaign of Kulōttunga III assigned to about A.D. 1205,[17] to hold under check the rising Pāṇḍyan contumacy under Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara (accession A.D. 1190). The last of this bunch was also significantly dated in his 38th year (A D. 1216) when he suffered humiliation at the hands of the more powerful successor and brother of Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara, Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. This was, perhaps, the glow of the last Imperial Cōḻa before his eclipse. Political and military activity and movement of the forces, far from affecting the trade coupled with the pronounced building activity of the period had led to further developments in the township. Additional shrines came up and additional provisions were also made, and the *nagaram's* functions could also be gleaned from these recorded transactions. The spurt of the activities had been so impressive that the *nagara* township still named as 'Telingakula-Kālapuram' in the records of the 27th year[18] and 31st year[19] had been renamed as Kulōttunga-Cōḻa Paṭṭanam in the record of the 37th year[20] though the old name was also retained. But it was a name whose glory was fast ebbing out.

In A.D 1205[21] (27th year of Kulōttunga III) the Nagarattār sold to one of the merchants of the township, Parampaiyūruḍaiyān Kaḍamban Senguḍiyān Gangādharan the Paḷḷivayal tank and lands, and water-source ponds, and dry lands and house sites at the tail end or extremity of the *nagaram (Innagar Kaḍaikkāl)*, excluding 2*mā* of land in the tank ayacut *(Purakkarai)* already endowed for Tirumānaimalai Aruhadēva(a jaina temple)in that village. There is also a mention of "*Paḷḷiviḷākam*" a name of field or property of the Jaina temple perhaps in the boundaries. The lands were sold for 330½ *Puncasalāgai Accu* received from the vendee for the Dēvadāna of Tiruvanāykkāvuḍaiyār shrine set up by the vendee, Gangādharan. The lands were to be

enjoyed by the shrine as tax free, and the *Nagaram* was to bear the *iṛai, kaḍamai* payable at the palace gate of the ruler of the land *(ulaguḍaiya-nāyanārkōil tiruvāsalāl pōnda).* By order of the *nagaram*, the Madhyastan Mani Sōdiyan Marudūruḍaiyān wrote the deed. A number of signatories on behalf of the *nagaram*, the vendor had signed the sale deed. They were (among others whose names were lost) :

Neḍuvāyiluḍayān Mallan (Aru) maniyān Aḻagiyapāṇḍi Cilaiceṭṭi.

Ambalavan Dēvan *alias* Ulagadananjayan of the same place.

Malan Marudan *alias* Jeyangoṇḍa Cōḻa Cilaiceṭṭi

Paḻuvuruḍaiyān Kadambandēvan *alias* Aṇukka Cilai Ceṭṭi.

Veḷḷuruḍaiyān Kēralāṇḍān Peṛṛān *alias* Poyyāmoḻi Ceṭṭi

.................Ulagaḷanda Cōḻa Cilai Ceṭṭi................

Veliyāṛṛūruḍaiyān Ādittan Adi......

Ārūruḍaiyān Uttama Cōla Cilai Ceṭṭi

Vēlān

Sōran Āditta dēvan *alias* Rājēndra Vēlān of the same place

Paḷḷi Ponnan *alias* Daṇmarājan of the same place.

Irunjirai Uḍaiyān Malayadattan *alias* Muḍikoṇḍa Cōḻa Telingarāyan.

(Nambi) Settan Kāṇa Nāṭṭu Vēḷān of the same place.

Parampaiyūr Uḍaiyān Dūtan Siran *alias* Arul Peṛṛān

Veḷiyaṛṛūruḍaiyān Āluḍaiyān Porpati (kk)u Nāyakan alias Rājarāja Darmapālan.

Ten years later in the 37th year of Kulōttunga III, (A.D. 1215),[22] the township was, as already noticed, rechristened as Kulottungacōḻa-paṭṭinam. In that year the *nagaram* sold to two merchants of the place, Parambaiyūr Uḍaiyān Kaḍamban Periyān, Danapālan, (was he the brother of the benefactor who set up the shrine for Tiruvānaikkāuḍaiyār?) and to another, Paḻuvūr-uḍaiyān Udaiyan Periyān *alias* Periya Dēvar, the lands in the tail-end (*kaḍaikāl*) or extremity of the *nagaram* called Kunnattūr ayacut and tank as *Kuḍinīngādēvādāna* (Temple grant but with the tenants continuing) and remitting the taxes (*Iṛai Ilicci*). It

was to the west of the boundary of the *Paḷḷi* (The Jaina temple). The sale price was 680,000 *kāsu*. The lands sold were perfectly vendible and for being granted as gifts by the vendees. The *nagaram* would bear the taxes and dues payable at the threshold of the ruler of the land. The two vendees had 50 : 50 share. The second vendee was to measure out 30 *kalams* of paddy for the shrine of Siva in dancing pose (*Kūttāḍumdēvar*) in the Kaḍambūr Temple. The first vendee was to measure out 30 *kalams* of paddy for Tiruvānaikkāuḍaiya-nāyanār,Srikailāsamuḍaiyār in the shrine (referred to in P. I. 158). If the entire ayacut[23] "constructively" yielded (*Puravaḍanga viḷayil*) then 60 *kalams* shall be measured out. If there was crop failure, in any year, on a survey of the crops and for the lands yielding, they shall measure paddy at 2 *kalams* 1 *tūni* 1 *padakku* per *mā* As the lands were at the extremity of the village boundary and were of the last grade/ classification this rate of dues shall be established as permanent (*Ivvarisai Tāpittapaḍi Ivvayal Innagarattu Ellaipuravāy Kadaittaramādalāl Ivvarisaippaḍiyē Candirādittavarai aḷappadāgavum*). This was inscribed by order of the *nagaram* by the accountant of the *nagaram*, *Marudūrudaiyān Periyān Māṇikka Sothi*. Was he the son of the *Madhyasthan* who signed the deed of the 27th year, 10 years earlier ?

The other signatories were:

Irunjiraiuḍaiyān Malaiyan Dēvan *alias* Muḍikoṇḍa Cōḻa Telingarāyan.

Nambi-settan Kānāṭṭu Vēḷān.

Parambaiyūr Uḍaiyān Kaḍamban Senguḍiyān Gangādharan- presumably the benefactor who endowed the image of Tiruvānaikkāvuḍaiyār.

A third record[24] of the 12th year of Pāṇḍya Māravarman Sundara 'who gave back the Cōnāḍu' (A.D. 1228), i.e. thirteen years later, relates to the same parties, and ayacut, and the shrines of Tiruvānaikkāvuḍaiyār and of Tirumalaikkaḍambūr-nāyanār. Additions were made and two goddesses (*Tirukkāmakōṭṭa-nācciyār*) were installed. Provision

was made for measuring out 60 *kalams*, of paddy each to each of the goddesses, in all 120 *kalams*, in addition to the earlier obligations of 60 *kalams*. The additional endowment was to be paid out of the ayacut and the tank that were later reclaimed and brought to cultivation (*Okkatiruttu*) equally by both the vendees. Paḻuvuruḍaiyān Periyānuḍaiyān Periyadēvan, and Parambaiyūruḍaiyān Kaḍamban Tirumūlattānamuḍaiyān (was the latter a scion of the benefactor who set up the shrine of Tiruvānaikkāvuḍaiyār?) recalled the already inscribed purchase[25] and earlier commitment to measure 60 *kalams* from Kunnatūr-vayal, on which the *nagaram* was to bear all land dues; and, reiterated their obligations.

The former, Periyadēvan had set up the image of a goddess and for defraying for expenses on dress and building the shrine (*Tiruppaṇi)*, he later agreed to measure 60 *kalams*. Similarly the latter had set up a goddess in Tiruvānaikkāvuḍaiya-nāyaṉār (which was initially installed by a scion of his family) and he agreed to likewise measure out 60 *kalams* of paddy. If there was any big drought or floods, the rate will be reduced to 5 *kalams* per *mā*. In the process of reclamation of the lands they had bought additionally a number of water-ponds *(kuḻi)* at the southern extremity of the Kunnattūr Tank, presumably to serve as supplemental sources of irrigation.

The signatories to the deed were, besides the two benefactors, inter alia:

Anukka Cilaicetti
Kānāṭṭu Vēḷār
Tenkarainātṭu Vēlār
Rājagambīra Cilaicetti
Aḻagiyapāṇḍiya Cilaicetti
(Jayam koṇḍa) Cilaicetti
Ulagaḷanda Cilaicetti
Rājēndravēḷār
Aḻagiya Cōḻa cilaicetti

These three documents brought out that the Tirumalai-

kaḍambūr-nāyanār temple had come up, and endowments made therefor in the 25 years from A.D. 1205 to 1228. The family of Parambayūr Kaḍamban Gangādāran and his brothers, and Paḷuvar family have taken a leading role. Among the signatories a number of Cilai-ceṭṭis and a few vēḷārs figure. And some of them, from the identity of names, appear to have been the same individuals signing the documents within a span of 10 years. Illustrations were:

Irunjirai-uḍaiyān Malayan Dēvan *alias*
Muḍikoṇḍa Cōḻa Telingarāyan
Nambi Settan *alias* Kānāttu vēḷān of the same place
Parambayur uḍaiyān Senguḍiyān Gangādharan.

The signatories in the Pāṇḍya document of A D. 1228 reveal their family lineage, though a tendency to adopt names after Pāṇḍyan ruler (Rājagambīra; Aḻagiya-Pāṇdya) etc., was noticed.

Reverting to the last years of Kulōttunga III, the endowments made to the temple might be now noticed.

In the 31st year (A.D. 1209) the Sivabrāhmaṇas (priests) of the temple received 5 *kaḻainju* gold and agreed to measure per day 2 *nāḻi* of rice for the offerings to the goddess (*Tiruppaḷḷiyaṟai nācciyār*) in the temple. The name of the grantor was lost.[26]

Seven years later (A.D. 1216), a merchant of the township, Neḍuvayal-Udayān (*Mānin*) Āṇḍān alias Jayankoṇḍa-Cilai ceṭṭiyār Kilataryar Soran had earlier set up a shrine for Dakshiṇāmūrti in the temple of Tirumalai Kaḍambīsvara and he deposited an amount with the Sivabrāhmaṇas of *Tiruvunnāḻigai* and agreed to give 1 *nāḻi* of rice for food offerings (A.D. 1253)[27].

In the 7th year of Rājēndra III (?)(A.D 1253)[28] the temple priests of the temple gave a deed to the stone (mason) Pōrēru Sēman *alias* Akalanka Ācāriyan of the temple as below: They gave 1/16 (*mākāṇi*) land from out of the temple endowments to him called *Iluppasey*, as tax free. This was located in the ayacut called Perumuḍi *alias* Tavapperumāḷnallūr. While this stone (mason) and his father were both executing the extensions and works in that temple and in the shrine of Tiruvānaikkāvuḍaiyār and the

shrines of the goddess on the occasion of setting up the flag-mast (*Tirukkoḍi-dēvar*) in the shrines of these deities, this land was granted as *Ācāryadakshiṇā*. But there seemed to be a stipulation that 1/10 of the yield from the land should be paid to the temple treasury. (Was it in recognition of the ownership rights (*Sāmibhōgam*) of the temple over the lands?). The nagarattār also subscribed to the deed.

The third group of seven inscriptions also from Tirumalai Kaḍambūrīsvarar dated from the 9th to the 15th (?) year (A.D. 1225-1231) of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya "who conquered the Cōḷa country and restored it to the Cōḷas". This, again, was a period when the Pāṇḍya ruler had led expeditions against the Cōḷa ruler[29], and the Pāṇḍyan forces must have issued forth from the Pirānmalai hills and passing through the declivities of the low hills which afforded facilities for campaigning and striking the Cōḷas with force.

These were transactions that had taken place within a short period of 6 years (9th to 15th year). Five of them were sale of land or ayacut with tank at the tail-end of the village, to persons who had to measure out the stipulated paddy to the Tirumalai-kaḍambūrīsvara temple.

In the 9th year (A.D 1225)[30] the *nagaram* sold to Irunjiṟai-uḍayān Anayan Dēvan *alias* Muḍikoṇḍa Cōḷa Telingarāyar one *mā* of land at the tail-end as *Kuḍinīngādēvadāna* to him and his son. They had to measure at 10 *kalams* per year and in years of failure, *padakku* (after assessment of yield). The tax dues for the land were to be borne by the vendees themselves and the land was to be enjoyed as Iṟaiyili by the temple.

In the 12th year (A.D 1228), a series of transactions had taken place. The Nagarattār sold to Marudūr-uḍaiyān Periyān-uḍaiyān *alias* Periya Dēvar, lands called Paḷavayal and several others totalling 6 *mākkāṇi* for meeting the clothing and food expenses in the new shrine for the goddess he had set up. He also built a stone temple with enclosure walls *(Tirumāḷigai kaṟṟaḷi)*. He had to measure 10 *kalams* of paddy to the shrine

and in years of drought or floods, a share (*vāram*) based on crop assessment *(Kaṅkāṇittu)*. Unlike the earlier case, the land dues were to be borne by the *nagaram* and the grant was a *Dēvadāna Iṟaiyili* and the holders were to continue as tenants[31]

A second reclamation and grant therefrom to the two goddesses shrine had already been examined above.[32]

The third transaction[33] was a sale of 3 *mā* of land by the *nagaram* to the merchant of that Village Veḷiyaṟṟūr-uḍaiyān Senguḷi Āḷuḍaiyān *alias* Irunidhikubēran. Already the *nagaram* had sold him lands at the extremity of the *nagaram* in Nocci-vayal Pasumpiraikuḷam on condition of his measuring 4 *kalams* per *mā*. The lands now sold were to the south of it. Now the vendee was to measure at 8 *kalams* in addition (in all 24 *kalams*) to the temple of Nagarīsvaramuḍaiyār. In years of drought or floods, the proportionate share of the actual yield (*mudal*) on crop assessment shall be collectable. The land dues were to be borne by the *nagara*. The tenants were to continue to hold the land. The *nagaram* recorded it as a sale of *kārāṇ-kiḻamai* to this Irunidhikubēran for him to endow the proceeds for the clothing and offerings to the temple of Nagarisvaramuḍaiyār (which was to the east of the Tirumalaikaḍambu-nāyanār temple) set up by him in the Sivanēri lands which was sold as *Kudinīngā-dēvadāna* in Karukuruvi ayacut by the *nagaram* to his grandfather (*Pēranār*) Periyān Sōran *alias* Dēvapālan earlier. The *Iṟai kuḍimai* and *antarāyam* were to be borne by the Township (*ūrē puramāha)*.

Three years later,[34] the *nagaram* rendered (in A D. 1231) as *Iṟaiyili* for the services to the goddess shrine set up by Paḻu-vūruḍaiyān Periyān Uḍayān Periyadēvan [35] lands he had pur-chased from Aruḷpeṟṟār another local merchant in the ayacut of Aruḷpeṟṟār Kuḍikāḍu Tank measuring *mukkāṇi* and also another parcel of land 1 *mā varai* from another local merchant Irunjirai-Uḍaiyār. These were waste and over-grown with shrubs and trees, and were reclaimed and levelled by Periyadēvan, who erec-ted the shrine for the goddess. The *nagaram* were to bear the

land dues.

The document was, among others, subscribed to by Marudūr Uḍaiyān Srīrāma Periyān, the *nagara* accountant.

Besides the Tirumalai-Kaḍambūrīsvara shrine and the new shrine set up for Nagarīsvara-muḍaiyār, a shrine for Vishṇu called Padiṇeṇ Bhūmi Viṇṇagar Āḻvār had existed on the western hillock. This inscription clearly stated[36] that the Nagaram as the Ūr (*Innagarattu Ūrāi*) consecrated as the western temple the Padiṇeṇbhūmi Viṇṇagar Emberumān and the goddess and endowed lands for food offerings and services. " *Padiṇeṇbhūmi* " was an attribute of the Nagarattār who were spread over the 18 *bhūmis*.

It would appear that there was a temple for *Vishṇu* called Karumāṇikka-Āḻvār already in Kulōttunga I's time as an inscription had been noticed (unpublished)[37]. Perhaps, as pointed out by the author of Pudukottai Manual[38] that temple had fallen into disuse and the Gods were reconsecrated in the Jaina rock-cut temple which was converted into the '*Mērkōil*' Viṇṇagar, a century later. The Vishṇu temple had, by tradition to be located in the western part of the Township, and the Siva Temple, north-eastern or eastern part. The Township's want of a temple for Vishṇu was thus fulfilled.

The nagarattār specified 5 ayacut lands, measuring 5 *mā, mukkāṇi*, from which 57 *kalams* of paddy were to be delivered for the services and food offerings. The share would be determined on assessed yield in times of drought and floods.

This record in its second part proceeded to levy some social obligations on the community, the proceeds from which would defray the expenses on the construction of the temple *(Tiruppaṇi)*. These were as follows : For each marriage festivity for the 4 days on which the sheep were not killed but roasted and eaten-presumably, they were all non-vegetarians at least in marriage feasts-each bride's house was to pay 120 *kāsu* and for dress 80 *kāsu*, totalling 200 *kāsu*. In the bridegroom's party (*Aṇṇan vīṭṭil*) for dress 80 *kāsu*, and for the sheep 100 - in all 180.

These were to be collected by Viḷakkattaraiyan and remitted to the temple and thereafter marriage performed. If the women lost their husbands when they discard flowers, dress and gold-they shall pay each 120 *kāsu* for their merit which the *Vāriyan* shall collect and remit it into the hands of the temple priests. (*Peṇpiḷḷaigaḷ Tāmatiyam Vandāl Ādaiyum māḷaiyum Tavirndu Tangaḷukku Nanrāha Kuḍukkum Kāsu 120 Vāriyan vāngi Tiruppaṇikkuḍalāha ikkōil Tiruvaḍipiḍippār Kaiyilē Oḍukka-kaḍavadāhavum.*)

The concern for the Vishnu temple and the comparative neglect of Vijayālaya cōlisvaram were noteworthy. Could that be attributed to the popular belief that Siva Temple had better be located to the south-east of the Township as Tirumalai-Kadambūrīsvara and also because Vijayālaya cōḻīsvaram was struck by rains (and lightning?) which could be construed to be an ill-omen?

The last record of this Pāṇḍya ruler[39] in his 12th year revealed the strained circumstances into which the Vijayālayacōḻīsvara Temple had fallen. They had no means to conduct the festivals. To provide for the day to day clothing needs and the festivals in the month of Vaikāsi (May-June), the Township body (*Ūrōm*) assigned each festival day to a distinct family in the village. The inscription though badly damaged could yield the following details

The festival had included anointing oil on Gods, and worship to Ganēsa, and there were 10 days' festivals Tirugñāna-sambanda-Pēriḷamai Piḷḷayār was also taken in procession. There were plays or entertainments (*Kūttu*) in the villages when the deity was taken in procession. The *nagaram* assigned each day to a family or more to share, and such families included Kanjiranguḍaiyār, Neḍuvāsaluḍaiyār, Paḷuvūruḍaiyār, Irunjirai-uḍayār, Muṭṭamuḍaiyār and others. A portion of the income of the more prosperous Tirumalaikaḍamburīsvara Temple also appeared to have been diverted.

As many as ten[40] inscriptions in close proximity of time were dated in between the 27th year of Kulōttunga III (1205 to 1231),

the 15th year of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, and of these 5 were dated in the same years - 12th of that Pāṇḍyan ruler.[41]

The signatories to each of the document representing the *nagaram* and others referred to in the document are set out in Appendix 'I'. While any inferences drawn merely from the similarity of names would be misleading, the following could be noticed.

(i) There was *madhyastan* of *nagara* and or an accountant. Both appear to be of the family of Marudurudaiyān.[42]

(ii) While signatories were not uniformally the same quite a few recurred in the documents of the same year. There was reference to Paṭṭaṇasvāmi and Porpadikku-Nāyakar. Were they the chiefs or leaders of the community? A number of Vēḷārs also signed alongside. The main family groups were similar to those to whom the festivals were assigned in the last record noticed. There were changes in the signatories from year to year and even among the records of the same year, though some appeared to be common to the records of the same year. From the available data it would be hazardous to make any further inferences. The marriage collection was assigned to one Viḷakkattaraiyan. Was he the agent or the one authorised to officiate at the marriage ceremony? But the collection at the time of inauspicious ceremony was assigned to an executive of the *nagaram* (*Vāriyan*). It was rather surprising that while the *nagara* was prosperous enough to add shrines and benefactions to the Tirumalaikaḍambūr temple, an addition in Rājarāja I's time, they had left the earlier Vijayālēsvara Temple to fall so destitute as to need diversion of funds and special undertaking by each family group for its festivals.

There were persistent attempts to reclaim the admittedly inferior lands at the extremities and tail-end of the township which were of lowest productivity (*kaḍai taram*). This, perhaps was necessitated partly to defray the expenses of the additional services instituted and shrines set up in the Kaḍambūrīsvara Temple. Could it also be that the *nagara* was hard pressed to

augment its resources and were straining their nerve to pay the land dues to the Cōḷa or the Pāṇḍya rulers whose forces were marching through and had perhaps to be sustained, as they were reciprocally carrying fire and sword each into the other's territory and this township was lying in between in an area that frequently got inter-changed? In all the land grants neither the Cōḷa nor the Pāṇḍya ruler had given up his land dues even on extensions and the *nagaram* had undertaken to pay to the ruler for the time being (*ulaguḍaiya nāyanār kōil tiruvāsalāl pōnda*) the land dues to him. Were the Nagarattār intent on reclamation and extension of the ayacuts as much to endow for the shrines as for rendering unto the Caesar (for the time being) what was due to him? The marginal utility of lands at the extremity, be they of the lowest productivity, could have risen, spurred by the war-time demands.

In the succeeding years of the Pāṇḍyan rule, additional grants by Veḷiyāṟṟūr family to the Tirumalaikaḍambur temple[43] and by one Kaṇṇuḍaiyān Aḷagiyanāyan alias Kurukulattarayan[44] were made. This latter had bought lands from the Sivabrāhmaṇas who have had a 30 days' service in rotation or turn (*vaṭṭam*), in Pāppāravayal. The lands had been under usufructary mortgages entered into by the ancestors of these priests and these were redeemed and sold. From the proceeds of the land they agreed to anoint the God by oil and maintain lamp-service and food offerings, even if the lands were laid waste. A number of Bhaṭṭas signed the deed. The Sivabrāhmanas, likewise, undertook to supply 2 *nāḻi* of rice per day. They also undertook to do a bathing service, and provide a lamp, and also ornaments for the deity with 8 *mā* 4½ *kaḻainju* of gold received from Veḷiyāṟṟū-ruḍaiyān Sōran Danti and his sister Ariyānṟāḷ. Some of the signatories to the deed[45] appeared to be the same persons and occurred in the same order as the signatories in a record of the 27th year of Kulottunga III (A.D. 1205)[46] though this record was dated in the 3rd year of Sundara Pāṇḍya and if this ruler could be presumed to be Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, a

contemporary of Kulōttunga III it could be dated A.D. 1218. Either they were the members of the same family or they seemed to have come in on another rotation to conduct the *nagaram* affairs.

In the 27th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya, the cantonment chieftain of Kiḻaikkuricci, Arayan Maṇiyan Varuḍaiperumāḷ alias Kulasēkhara Kaḍambayarāyan had sold the Perumuḍivayal and Sirumangalam lands belonging to him for a sum of 49,500 *kāsu* jointly for the main shrine and two shrines of Tiruvānaikkāvuḍaiyār and Tirukāmakoṭṭanācciyār shrines set up in the temple[47].

From the time of later Pāṇḍyas Nārttāmalai had changed its character from a merchant-township to that of an Ūr, though the same name had been retained. We could not get at the reasons for this transformation. Could it be that in the later half of the 13th and 14th centuries with the confusion caused by the Muslim incursions, the Nagarattārs felt impelled to change their habitation elsewhere, perhaps further south ? Even in the best days of the *nagaram* there was a sprinkling of the agricultural population, but in these later inscriptions they seem to predominate though a few Cilai-ceṭṭis were also figuring as signatories. This transformation had been pointedly noticed in the time of Jaṭāvarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya and thereafter it had continued to retain its character as *Ūr* in Vijayanagara times.

In the fifth year of Parākrama's reign[48] the priests of the Kaḍambūr temple and the *maṭha* authorities in-charge and the Ūrār (*ūrāi isainda ūrōm)* of Kulōttunga Cōḻa paṭṭaṇam had given a deed to the dancing girl Aḻagapperumāl's son Tiruvāṇḍār. They fixed the dues (*varisai*) to the temple from the 8 *mā* of land he had purchased as *kuḍinīngā dēvadānam* as follows :—

Pisānam per 1 *mā*	...	5 *kalams* of paddy
Kuruvai	...	1/2 of the above
Tinai, *varagu* etc.	...	1/4 of the above
Gingeley	...	$1\frac{1}{2}$ *paṇam*
Punjai per 2 *mā*	...	*Padakku* of paddy

One half of the *pāsi pāṭṭam* (fisheries) should be utilised for deepening the tank.

Next year the *ūrār*[49] and the 30 days' turn-holding temple priests and accountants, and *maṭha* superintendents met in the *maṇḍapa* and gave the respective shares among the ten dancing girls attached to the temple in the *Dēvadāna* lands of Paivayal at 1 *mā* per each share.

The signatories signed at the end as *Nagarttūrāga isainda ūrōm*", among others.

Appendix II sets out the representatives who signed the two deeds in two succeeding years and it will be seen that while some names repeat themselves, quite a few are changed. Also the representatives who were predominently ceṭṭis earlier did not seem to appear though the nativity of the signatories was still identical like Veḷiyaṟṟūr, Parambayūr, Vellūr and Marudūr.

A record of A.D. 1431 (Ś. 1353)[50] of Dēvarāya, the Vijayanagar ruler explicitly stated that this township was continuing as an Ūr. In that year, they together with the temple priests, those in charge of the *maṭha*, acting on the command of Caṇḍēsvara met at *Vīra Pāṇḍya Maṇḍapa* and granted the following to the three sons of a dancing girl, Aḍiyāḷ of the village, Seyyan, Udappan, and Mallan. Of these Udappan, was given the title of "Caṇḍēsvaramārāyar" and was given 2 housesites, and 3 *mā* of land from the Paḷḷivayal, a *dēvadāna* of Tiruvānaikkāuḍaiyār as Sarvamānya. They were to be the bearers of the deity *(Sripādam)* when the deity goes in procession on festival days, including one on the natal asterisk of Ambēyarāya Uḍaiyār, son of Vīra Kumāra Tirumallinātha uḍaiyār.

The rest of the inscriptions were not important except the one of the *Vijaya*[51] year noticed below.

This was a covenant entered into by the men of Nagarattār-malai Sīmai-nāḍu. They agreed to remit land dues, on the basis of crop estimates from the lands in the Sīmai nāḍu as one '*Puravu*' or unit, after setting off good and bad, and also answering the needs of *Dharma* (charity) and sin. Instead of standing by

this, if anyone gave in to the royal demand, he shall be deemed to be an enemy of the nāḍu, and shall be suppressed and his land and housesite and holding shall be expropriated to the Tirumalai Kaḍambūr temple. The nāṭṭār were also to engage a *maṇiyak-kāran* or comptroller of their own choice.

It would appear that this was a collective action taken on the part of the nāṭṭār to safeguard their interests vis-a-vis royal levies which had tended to become some-what disagreeable to them. The decision was backed by punitive sanctions. But, it would be more important to notice that neither the *nagaram* which has had an active existence for over three centuries nor the Ūrār who appeared later and continued in Vijayanagar times were mentioned. The initiative had passed on to the Nāṭṭār, the larger body of *Sīmai* or tract of Nārttāmalai and its vicinity.

A sum-up

The *nagaram* of Nārttāmalai taking its name from one of the titles of Rājarāja I, had come into prominence in that Cōḻa ruler's time and the township boundaries, therefor, were determined by a female elephant circumambulating the area. The survey and redistribution of land made in another record would also bear out that the formation of the *nagara* could not be far anterior to Rājarāja I's time. The township had predominantly the merchants, Cilaiceṭṭis and Danmaceṭṭis and one Brahma-ceṭṭi also figured in a record. Doubtless, they should have had trade contacts and had links with the Nānādēsis and Tisaiāyirattu an-nūṟṟuvar of which they had formed part. This last was evidenced by the social crisis in a marriage which went awry resulting in the suicide of a ceṭṭi lady and the Annūṟṟuvar setting up the image of *Sangu-Paramēsvarī*. The merchant community were non-vegetarians, certainly in marriage feasts, and had endowed proceeds from a community levy at the time of marriage or widowhood to the temple. We would like to know more of their trade contacts and activities which, however, were not brought out by the available evidence.

The *nagaram's* functioning in land and revenue administration was more fully brought out by epigraphic evidence. They were holding in common the unoccupied lands and house sites which they could survey with the royal officers and distribute or redistribute. They could also sell such lands to parties who wished to reclaim the land and bring it under cultivation. The *nagaram*, it could be seen, were particularly keen on selling such tail-end lands even of marginal productivity to be brought under cultivation in order to maintain additional shrines and services instituted but in none of which the land dues to the King were remitted. This activity, conspicous in the 25 years from A.D. 1205 would synchronise with the Cōḻa-Pāṇḍyan wars under Kulōttunga III and Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I and would suggest that the wartime needs or demands could have also prompted such augmentation of revenue and extension. The spurt of *nagara* activity in construction and expansion of temples had apparently synchronised with the expansionist period of the Cōḻas and the Pāṇḍyas. It would suggest that trade followed the flag and the merchant community should have benefited out of such expansion as well. Thus, this period of Cōḻa-Pāṇḍya conflict was also one of prosperity and exertion for the *nagara* and a rhythmic sympathy of its growth and decline could be almost discerned in line with rise of the Imperial power of the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōḻas and their decline.

The *nagaram* had also the function to accept deposits, supervise the services in the temples, and exempt lands from land dues which they would themselves bear (presumably on the basis of capitalised value realised from vendees). Most of the services and shrines were set up by the merchant-benefactors and other members of the family augmented the shrines and their income. In a good number of cases cash deposits were made for such endowments. Despite such increasing number of endowments for the new temple and the shrines in Tirumalai-Kadambūr-nāyanār temple the earlier shrine of Vijayālaya cōḻesvara had fallen into neglect and had no capital to defray the

expenses on festivals. Special provision had to be made by assigning each day's festival to the principal constituent families of the *nagaram*.

Besides the two Siva temples and one temple for Vishṇu in the western hills, two Jaina Paḷḷis were also continuing in the adjoining hills right upto the Pāṇḍyan times. They were also endowed with lands for services from out of which the services could be paid by allocation of the fields.

The *nagaram* appeared to have a committee system (*vāriyam*) through which it functioned and had the executive (*madhyastan*) and/or accountants to implement their decisions and record the transactions. Available evidence would suggest that these latter were held perhaps on hereditary basis in the same family.

After the later Pāṇḍya time of Parākrama and definitely by the Vijayanagar rule, early in the 15th century, the township suddenly got transformed from a *nagara* to a *Ūr* and in one record it was referred to in an equivocal manner as *Nagarattūrār*. The composition as *Ūr* still had a few Ceṭṭi families even as that of the *Nagara* had a few Veḷārs or agricultural families. The distinction in the township nomenclature *Nagaram* or *Ūr* was less functional. It was more based on the predominant composition of the township community which tended to give it some cohesion and homogenity and they were prompted by an identity of interest, if not occupation.

It was perhaps legitimate to infer that many of the merchant families had shifted and had left for abodes else where, perhaps due to the weakening of the central authority and confusion and disorder in the tract coupled with Muslim incursions and consequent insecurity and unsettled conditions. Even the Ūr, which continued to discharge identical functions as the *Nagaram* regarding land and revenue administration was eclipsed and initiative had passed on to the Nāṭṭār in a record of *Vijaya* year and loyalty to the Nāḍu, assessment of land dues for the Nāḍu as a whole, as one unit, and penalty for transgressing the decisions of the Nāḍu were insisted upon. This document

could truly be considered as an epitaph on the *nagaram* and its successor organisation the *Ūr*, the unitary organisations that had served so long and so well for over five to six centuries and had exercised direct and full supervision over the temples in this township.

1. Pudukkottai Inscriptions 11
2. P. I. 19 - Also S. I. I. XII No. 63 p. 26 which has a better reading of the text. "The land endowed was in Peruvilattur in Annavayil Kurram. The temple was to get the yield from the 1/4 sey the donor-lady had purchased and also what ever was payable to the king. The priest was Pattudaiya Uruttiran Deyapukki".
3 Tradition has it that when the Jaina ascetics performed *'Sallekhana'* (or fasting until death) their bodies were rolled down the smooth rock from above into the forest deep and hence the name. Or that the criminals were rolled down as punishment.
4. P. I. 474 5. P. I. 658
6. "Early Cola Temples, - S. R. Balasubrahmanya Iyer. p. 50
7. Narttamalai could have been an entrepot midway between the rich Cauvery delta of Tirucirappalli and the Vaigai basin in the south, and Karur on the west and port outlets in the east in Tanjavur and Ramanathapuram coast.
8 P. I. 86
9. P. I. 91 — Also please see the Colas-I p. 225. It is not indended to suggest that a conscious and one-time 'constitution" of the Nagara was made. But the families settled had acquired a "local habitation and a name" and boundaries were demarcated for them.
10. P. I. 110
11. S. I. I. Vol. XVII - p. 167 (No. 389)
Was the goddess identical with Kannika-paramesvari and if so, was the lady who poisoned herself and died a virgin? or was this image identical with Durga as Parvati who held Sanka in one of her hands and held in reverence by the merchant caste ? In reconstructing the probable import of this inscription, I have departed from the abstract of the contents given in S. I. I. Vol. XVII by the learned epigraphist, relying on the crucial phrases and wording that occur

in this incomplete text. The term *'Variya'* of the *Nagaram* also occurs in P. I. 281. The Dhanma Variyam, as the name implied, was the committee of the Nagaram to administer the charities and endowments.

12. P. I. 112 13. P. I. 487 14. P. I. 82
15. P. I. 113 - "Soma (sic) should read Cola keralapuram".
16. P. I. 114
17. The Colas-Vol. II Pt. I pp. 131-2 by Prof. K.A.N. Sastri
18. P.I. 158 19. P.I. 164 20. P.I. 170 21. P.I. 158
22. P. I. 170
23. The term 'constructively' is used in the sense in which it occurs in Board standing orders: 'Constructive total loss' to bring the impact of the word *'adanga'*. i.e., for the entire fields of the locale as a whole.
24. P. I. 158 25. See Supra P.I. 170 26. P. I. 164
27. P. I. 173
28. P. I. 200-Also S.I. XVII, No. 387
29. 'The Pandyan Kingdom' - p. 147: Prof K.A.N. Sastri
30. P.I. 271 31. P.I. 279 32. P.I. 280 33. P.I. 283
34. P. I. 325—A merchant of that name, Arulperrar is noticed among the signatories in P.I. 158, 281, 283 and 583
35. See Supra P. I. 280 36. P. I. 281
37. J. O. R. Vol. II pp. 25-26
38. Pudukkottai Manual Vol. III Pt. I p. 1072
39. P. I. 282: The term *ur* is used here perhaps in its general sense.
40. P. I. 158, 170, 173, 271, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283 and 325
41. P. I. 279 to 283
42. P. I. 158 *Madhyastan* (A. D. 1206) Manijothiyan Marudurudayan P.I. 170 Nagarakanakku (A.D. 1216)-Marudurudaiyan Periyan Manikkajothiyan (perhaps a son of the former?) P.I. 325 Nagarakanakku (A. D. 1231)-Marudurudaiyan Srirama Periyan
43. P.I. 389 44. P.I. 445 45. P.I. 503 46. P.I. 158
47. P.I. 531 48. P.I. 620 49. P.I. 621 50. P.I. 702
51. P.I. 922

rative Statement of Signatories in the Narttamalai Inscriptions from A.D. 1205 to 1217–18

P.I. No. 170 Cola : Kulottunga III l year 37 - A.D. 1215-16	P.I. No. 173 Cola : Kulottunga ? Tribhuvanavīradēva Regnal year 38 - A.D. 1216-17	P.I. No. 503 Pāndya : Māravarman Sundara Regnal year 3 - A.D. 1218
Kaṇakku — Marudūr Periyān Mānikkac Cōthi.	Neḍuvāyil Uḍaiyān Māṇin	Araśalūr Uḍaiyān Jaya .... Ārūr Uḍaiyān āna Uttama Cōla Cilai Ceṭṭi
	Āṇḍānāna Jayankoṇḍa Cola Cilaic Ceṭṭiyār Kilādariyār Kōn.	Muṭṭam Uḍaiyān Ādittan Ādiyāna Tenkarai Nāṭṭu Vēlān
		Mērpaḍiyūr Śōran Āditta dēvan Rājēndra Vēlān.
		Mērpaḍiyūr Palli Pōtanāna Danmarājan.
ḍaiyān Periyān Uḍaiyanāna van		
ūrān Nambi Seṭṭan āna Vēlān		

APPENDIX—I B

comparative Statement of Signatories in the inscriptions from 9th to the 15th year of Maravarman sundara Pandya I.

P.I. No. 280 Regnal year 12 - A.D. 1228	P.I. No. 281 Regnal year 12 - A.D. 1228	P.I. No. 282 Regnal year 12 - A.D. 1228	P.I. No. 283 Regnal year 12 - A.D. 1228
. . . . ngāyan Anukka Cilai Ceṭṭi	Telingarāyan Tenkarai nāṭṭu vēlān	Poyyāmoli Tenkarai nāṭṭu vēlān	Veliyāṛṛūruḍaiyān cenguli Āluḍaiyān Irunidhikkubēran
Kānāṭṭu vēlān	Poraiyan Anukka Cilai Ceṭṭi	. . . . vandira vēlān	Rājagambīra Uttama Cōla Cilai Ceṭṭi
Tenkarai nāṭṭu vēlan	Eṛipattar Marungal nāṭṭu vēlān	Paluvūruḍaiyān . . . . la Cilaic ceṭṭi	Periyān Kūttan Maru(n)ga nāṭṭu Vēlān
Rāsagambīra Cilai ceṭṭi	Dhanmapālan Dhananjiyan	Paṭṭanaswamy Eṛipattan	Dēvan Arulpeṛṛān Ponnan-pilavanāna Dharmarāyan
. . . . nāṭṭu vēlān	Alagiya paṇḍiya Cilaic ceṭṭi	. . cōla Cilai Ceṭṭi	Ambalavan Āchambi Rājēndra vēlān
Alagiya Pāṇḍiya Cilai Ceṭṭi	Arul peṛṛār Valla nāṭṭu vēlān	. . . . . . cola Cilai Ceṭṭi	Ulagan Dhanañcīanār vēlan
. . . . . . ngoṇḍa Cilai Ceṭṭi	Jayamgoṇḍa Theru (Iru) nidhikkubēran Cilai ceṭṭi	Mangala nāṭṭu vēlān	Alagiya cōla Cilai Ceṭṭi
Ulagalanda Cilaiya Ceṭṭi			Jayamgoṇḍa cōla Cilai Ceṭṭi
Rājēndra vēlān			vēlān Ēṛpattan Telingarāyan
Alagiya cōla Cilaic ceṭṭi			Tenkarai nāṭṭu vēlān
			Alagiya . . . Poyyāmoli Ceṭṭi
			Kulōttunga cōla Cilai Ceṭṭi
			Irājarāja Dharmarāyar vēlān
			Ulagalanda cōla Cilai Ceṭṭi

APPENDIX — I C

Names that occur on holdings held

Pandya: Maravarman Sundara I Regnal year 12-A.D. 1228	Pandya: Maravarman Sundara I Regnal year (15?- A.D. 1231(?)
Marudhanthāli Dharmarāyan Mukkūruḍaiyān Vēndan kallan Mukkūruḍaiyān ciran Porkōyi Nambi Parampaiyūruḍaiyan Kaḍamban thiru vettānamuḍaiyān. Kānchiranguḍaiyān Kalavanāna ulaga Māthākkal (Punnanguḍaiyan Thiruvaiyāṛuḍai- yān Āchambi Ulagalanda cōla Cilai Ceṭṭi Pengalūruḍaiyān Manava(n) Kaḍamban Poyyāmolic ceṭṭi	Nagarakkaṇakku Murudūruḍaiyān cīrāma periyan Marunganāṭṭu vēlān Alagiya cōla Cilai Ceṭṭi Kānāḍu vēlān Alagiya Pāṇḍiya Cilai Ceṭṭi Periyān Cilai Ceṭṭi Valla nāttu vēlān Kulōttunga cōla Cilai Ceṭṭi. Tenkarai nāttu vēlān Marunganāṭṭu vēlān Anukka Cilai Ceṭṭi

APPENDIX — II

Comparative statement of signatories in the records of the 5th & 6th regnal years of Pandya Parakrama

P.I. No. 620 Pāṇḍya : Parakarama Regnal year 5	P.I. No. 621 Pāṇḍya : Parakarama Regnal year 6
)ēsanāyaka Bhaṭṭan	Dēsa Nāyaka Bhaṭṭan
,ırāṇḍānāna Ainnūrruvan Bhaṭṭan	Ainnūrruva Bhaṭṭan
;ivācāryam Seyvārkalil Kunṛuḍaiya Perumāl	Munnūrruva Bhaṭṭan
;haṭṭa Pillaiyāna Rākuttrāyarāyan	.... Nayanān Eluttu.
'alitunai Dēvarāṇḍānāna	Punnanguḍaiyān Irunguli Periyānāna Vīra Pāṇḍya Cakravartigal.
ayankoṇḍa Cōla Bhattan	
rī Mūlattānamuḍaiyān munnūrruvan Bhaṭṭan	.... Mūlamuḍaiyān Vēlān
ūrya dēvanayanān Punnangudaiyān Irunguli	Vagai rā .... tan.
'eriyānāna Vīra Pāṇḍya Cakravartigal	.. .. guṇadesi mādavanāna
....Pattamudaiyān ma... danavaniharādittan	Kulaśēkhara Cakravartigal.
1arudūr Uḍaiyān Kunṛan Umaiyoṛu Bāgan	Pākkamuḍaiyān Piccan
'unnanguḍaiyān Pillai Ambalattāduvān	Alagiya ta .... n.
'ākkam Uḍaiyān Piccan	VeliyāṛṛūrUḍaiyān Sambandan
'erungarunai .... madayattan	Tirukkōlakkudi Pā ....
'eliyārrūruḍaiyān Sēṭṭan seyapālan	... yā Cakravartigal
'arambaiyūruḍaiyān Tanayamu . Gangādharan	Parambaiyūr Uḍaiyān Sadai Kādēvan ..
'ellūruḍaiyān Poyyāmoli	
)evanāna Poyyāmolicilai Cheṭṭiyār	Sembāvuḍaiyān Ādi .. Alagiyār
;annuḍaiyānāna E .. Kal Ulaka Mātākkal	Vellūr Uḍaiyān Poyyāmoli
;āñcirankuḍaiyān ... lagiya Kūttan	Kūtta Perumāl
'alavūruḍaiyan Ulla Pon ... āḍuvān Sōmane	Nāṭṭavuḍaiyān Udaiyan Tiruppaṇṇai Vāyiluḍaiyān Kunran Umaiyoru Pākar
'arambaiyūruḍaiyāntāmun Penninrān	
'arālūrudaiyān van .... la .... Sambandan	
...... Kaṇakkum Kōyir Kaṇakkum	*Ūravar Paṇikkum Tānattār Paṇikkum ippiramānam eḻudinēn ikkōyil Kaṇakku* Nambāṇḍān.
1arudūr Uḍaiyān	
na . Singaperumālāna Kulottunga Cōla Vēlān	
argaḷ Solla eḻudinēn Vayalakamudaiyān	
..............Nāyan	

'ote: 1 The Bhattar signatories are all identical; but those for the ūrārs vary, barring a few repetitions.

2 Perhaps the posts of the Accountants of the ūr, and the temple were held by the same person or by the same family-members whose place of nativity was Marudur.

VIRAYACCILAI

(Viraccilai)

A Garrison (Padaiparru) Township

Viraccilai is a village in Tirumayyam Taluk, 21.75 kilometres south of Pudukottai, the District Headquarters. In the medieval times it was a township in which the soldiery of the Pāṇḍyas or the Chieftains who had sway over the tract had their holdings *(Paḍaipaṛṛu)*. The township itself was termed as Ūr. The agriculturist holders were apparently, liable to be conscripted for service in the armies or garrisons of the Pāṇḍyas, or the Chieftains, either for the latter or for the rulers to whom they were bound in loyalty to serve The inscriptions refer to the "Scions of the royalty/chieftains" *(arasar-makkaḷ)* and *(Maṛamudali)* the chieftains of the Maṛava clan who were resident - holders of land in this township.

In all there are 18 inscriptions, 11 of the Pāṇḍya times extending into the early decades of the 15th century, 4 of the Vijayanagar times from the middle of the 15th century to its end, and later inscriptions 3. This study aims at presenting the functioning of this township - organisation (ūr) with particular reference to its character as a *Paḍaipaṛṛu* (holdings belonging to the soldiery) as gleaned from these inscriptions.

Virayāccilai was an ūr in Virudharāja bhayankara vaḷa-nāḍu *alias* Kāna nāḍu In the third year of Jaṭāvarman[1] Sundara Pāṇḍya (Circa A.D. 1253-4/1279-80?) the urār sold to one Sōthi Āḻvār, alias Thirumālirunjōlai Tādar, Aravattūr-uḍaiyān Pillaiyuḍaiyān of Sundara Pāṇḍyapuram in Kalvāyilnāḍu two tanks and ayacuts and channels named Dēvarkulam and Sekkālaik-kulam an *Ūranipuram* i.e. for being endowed for maintenance of two *ūranies*. The tank and ayacuts had been purchased earlier by the ūrār in the fifth year of Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya. When these

were sold to Sōthiāḻvār the land dues *(iṛai)* was deducted and the *Kaḍamai*, *Kuḍimai* (the dues payable by the owner occupant, and the tenants) were to be borne and paid by the *ūrār* on their account. For these lands were endowed as *Ūranipuram* for maintaining the two *ūranies* (being water or drinking water sources) excavated by the charity of Sōthiāḻvār, and named Aravathur uḍaiyān Urani, and Periyapirāṭṭi Urani to its east. Out of the income from the ayacuts and the tanks the residual amount after meeting the maintenance expenses was to be appropriated by the benefactor. The tanks and the ayacuts were renamed after the vendee. The trees planted and any other subcrops raised in the urani-abutting land shall also belong to Sōthiāḻvār.

On behalf of the urār, the following signed the sale deed.

Piḷḷān Rājan alias Rāsinga dēvan (belonging to the chieftain's family-*Arasamakkaḷ*).

Nāṭṭān......Uyyavanda dēvan

And one other.

Among the Marava residents of the village Mālaiyiṭṭān's children-who were illiterate.

Kadamban Porulāṇḍān-who were illiterate

Nambi Periyān (Pirantān) Sey ...illiterate and on behalf of all these illiterates the scribe (whose name is lost) signed the deed

The same benefactor, Sōthiāḷvār figured in two other documents, one of the[2] fourth year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and another of the fourth year of Māravarman Kulasekhara[3]. The first was a sale deed of the holding Sāravayal for reclamation purposes and renovation of the tank for 100 *paṇam* of current *varāhan*. The sale was on condition that Sōthiāḷvār would install the five deities-Nāyakar, Nācciyār, Tiruvahanācciyār and Sundaranāyanār and Srī balidēvar. He had to measure out for the food offerings to these deities installed, at the rate of 40 *kalams* of paddy as immutable dues (*Vāḍākkaḍan*) per year to be measured at the proportionate monthly rate i.e. 3-1/3 *kalams* per month.

The dues would be double the rate yielded for

arimukkai mukkuruṇi (a levy for village establishment?) which was also made payable to the temple. The lands had also the following obligations: to pay per 1 *sey* 1 headload as *iṛaikāval* to the township; for communal—the term is used in its proper literal sense, "of the Community"—dues for the blacksmiths, for the accountants and the Parayars the rate shall be as paid to them on the occupied holdings of the township. But other levies like *kaḷavāripaccai, veṭṭimuṭṭāvāḷ, kūṛṛilakkai, koṛṛilakkai, taṛiyiṛai, taṭṭārpēru* and other claims shall not be made on these ayacut lands. The vendee could rename the ayacut and the lands after himself and set up inscribed stones.

The signatories for the document were the following: Among the scions of the chieftain *(Arasar-makkaḷ)*

Nāṭṭān Ulakuḍaiya Nāyanārāna Uyyavanda Dēvar-illiterate
Parimana Viḷa. Irāsinganādāḷvān-illiterate
The Maṛava holders:
Ma .. ḍayān Makkaṇāyan-illiterate
Kaṇḍan Poruḷan-illiterate
Pillān Rājan *alias* Irāsingadēvan, signed for them all.
Pirandān Sēvakan *alias* Kānāṭṭupparaiyan
Valattān *alias* Arasarmīkāmapparaiyan
Nambi Annūruvappēraraiyan-illiterate
Avayan Ulakuḍaiyān-illiterate
Vellur Pērarayan Poppāṇḍān-illiterate
Aḷagala...(m)pāṇḍan-illiterate
The ūr accountant ... Karpaka ... perumāḷ, signed for them all and wrote the deed.

One of the temple priests, Dukkaibaṭṭar Sokkabaṭṭan being illiterate-Sivapādakayār Villiyār signed for him.

Aḷagan Kōvaṇḍān being illiterate Tirukkoḍunkunṛam *(Nambimāril)* priest Kumāraswāmi Bhaṭṭar signed for him and on his own behalf.

One more signatory was illiterate and the last signatory was Tavapperumāḷ alias Maramāṇikkalayiḷar.

There were far too many illiterates, including a temple priest.

The third sale by the ūrār[3] to the same vendee-benefactor was in the fourth year of Māṛavarman Kulasēkhara. The subject of sale was a water pond of the township called Panayankuḻi, 800 feet x 800 feet with the water-spread and the bund. The pond was to be renamed after the vendee.

The signatories to the sale deed were:-

Nāṭṭarayan;
Rāsinga Nāḍāḻvān;
Ādi Mālai Iṭṭān;
Periyanāṭṭupparayan;
Kānanāṭṭupparayan;
Annūrrupparaiyan;
Arasarmīkāmapparaiyan;
Akalankapparaiyan;
Vaiyan Sokkanār;
Mallan Kāḍappiḷḷai ;
Nambi Poppāṇḍān;

Among the blacksmiths Māṇikkakkollan, Udiyācāri, Maṛa Māṇikka Taṭṭān;- all signed the deed.

As the *ūravar* were illiterate, the township accountant, Ponnāṇḍān Sundrattōḷuḍaiyān signed for them all and on his own behalf.

This document was a sale of the pond-being the water source of the village A number of village office-bearers (Parayars) and the artisans representing blacksmiths, carpenters and goldsmiths stonemasons (*Ācāri*) and the Parayans of the nāḍu had attested the deed besides the accountant. While most of the Maṛava and even scions of the chieftains were illiterate the Parayars and the artisans had all signed the deed themselves.

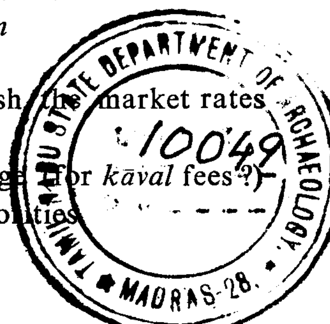
In the 16th year of Māravarman Kulasēkhara (AD 1284) the Arasumakkaḷ and Maramudalis of Virayāccilai gave a renewed sale deed to one Periya Tirukkūṭṭattu Tavaṇai mudaliyār Māṇikkavācakar Āṇainamatendra Perumāḷ alias Kōyil Vācal Piccaimudaliyār of Mattiyur alias Nṛpasēkhara Caturvēdimangalam attached to the temple of Varagunīsvaramuḍaiya nāyanār in

Kēraḷa singa-Vaḷanāḍu. Earlier, a sale deed had been executed, selling the 2 ayacuts of Pūmkulam and Annuṟṟuvamangalam with all appurtenances to the father of the present vendee, also of the same name, on condition that *Kārān kiḻamai* rights (occupanay rights) shall be enjoyed by the vendee; and *Kaḍamai* shall be payable to the temple of Ulagaviṭankēśvaramuḍaiyār. The earlier saledeed had been lost (*sērugai*) in a rebellion or confusion (*kalaham*). As the *Kaḍamai* dues were assigned to the temple, the vendors, viz. the chieftains and the Maṟava-mudalis agreed to bear themselves all the incidence of land dues to the State. The vendee seems to have been a recognised head of the Saiva sect, having supervision over Siva temples. The sale deed was redrawn on the same basis. The rates of *Kaḍamai* to be paid to the temple were as follows :

For *kuruvai* of Aippasi (A early crop) *Pasānam* (main crop) *Citrai kuruvai* (summer crop)	*7 Kalam 1 Tūṇi 1 Padakku*+ 80 *kāsu* for all lands yielding to which the sickle and the hayrope were taken in) as also for sugarcane, turmeric, and tubers like *karuṇai*.
Āḍi kuruvai :	3/4 of the above i.e. *5 Kalam 7 Kuruni 4 Nāḻi + 60 kāsu.*
Tiṇai varahu =	1/2 of the above: *3 Kalam. 2 Tūṇi 1 kuruṇi + 40 kāsu.*
Gingelly and grams	*2 Tūṇi 1 kuruṇi + 10 kāsu.*
Brinjal & pumpkin -	*1 paṇam*
For betel -	*13 Kalam 1 kuruni 4 Nāḻi + 140 kāsu.*
For other bearing trees -	*2 paṇam*
For dry crops - for yielding lands -	*1 Tūni*

For converting the kind - yields into cash, the market rates prevailing in *Neṟkunṟam* shall be adopted.

The 3 *kuruṇi* paddy payable for the village (or *kāval* fees?) per *mā* shall also be paid to the temple authorities.



The signatories to the deed were :

1. Nāṭṭān Soṇḍan
2. Mangala nāḍāḷvān
3. Uyyavanda Dēvan
4. Annurruva Dēvan
5. Soṇḍan Nāṭṭān
6. Vīrasingapērayan
7. Annūrrupparayan
8. Rāsinganāḍāḷvān
9. Perunduṛaippērayan
10 Poṛkaḷnerukkipērayan
11. Arasamikāmappērayan
12. Nilamai Aḻagiya nāḍāḷvān
13. Sondan—signatories 8 to 13 being illiterate, the accountant of the village signed for them.

The accountant of the village, Vayalakamuḍaiyān[4] Uyyavandān Ulakuḍaiyān wrote the deed to their dictation.[4]

In the 5th year of Sīvaladēva, the Ūrār of Virayāccilai honoured one of the shepherds resident in the village, Kēraḷan Sēndan by name. He was given the title of "Maṛamānikkakkōn" and he was to get 3 sheaves *(ari)* and *Kuruvai* paddy for wet and for dry *kuruvai* grain as an *Īṛaiyili Pramāṇam* and to the dictation of the ūrār, the accountant of the ūr, Karpakar Aranguḷapperumāḷ wrote the deed.[5]

The special services he had rendered for earning this recognition were not set out in the document.

In the reign of Pāṇḍya Māṛavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya the Viraccilai ūrār and the sthānathār of the temple gave a deed of possession of holding rights (*Kāṇiyātchi*) to one Rājarājan Parākrama Pāṇḍya Pallavarayan and others with the following terms: The enclaves or bits *(Tuṇḍippu)* of Virāccilai and Tattamangalam had to pay 100 *Adirāpanam* per year. Of this amount Uḍayavar (i.e. the Sūrakkudi chieftain) had assigned 40 *paṇams* to the Viraccilai Siva temple in an earlier grant. Again Udayavar Senbagapponnāyinar alias Parākrama Pāṇḍya Visayālaya-

dēvar had granted as an endowment another 60 *paṇam*. The Thattamangalam dry wet and *nattam* and other lands were endowed as "*Dēva maṇḍala paṟṟu*" for the temple. The document proceeded to stipulate the rates of dues *(varisai)* to the temple payable by Parākrama Pāṇḍya Pallavarayan and others.[6] Among the interesting features of the terms stipulated it should be noted that if any cultivators came from outside Tattamangalam and took to cultivation there shall be paid a "per capita' levy *(Āḷvari)* to the temple at the rates at which this was payable to the temple. Also they had to perform personal services *(Ūḻiyam)*[7] to the temple in the festival days from the time of the flag-hoisting ceremony. The temple accountant was to receive the payments and levies due.

In the 13th year of Pāṇḍya Sīvaladēva, the scion of the chieftains of Sūrakkuḍi, Pillān Rāsappiḷḷai alias Irāsingadēvan made a sale deed of a charity to a Maṟava of the village, Nayinān Gangan. There was a charity instituted earlier for the "*Ilayanayinār*" (*utsavar ?*) (*which fell into disuse*) and there was also some expenditure defrayed for the construction works for the Periyanayinār in the temple for both of which the vendor had received 11 *siṟṟirāsi paṇam* and *guḷigai paṇam 36*. The township accountant Seman Vayyamtōḻaninṟān wrote the deed. Kōilvāsal Piccar, the "Saiva ācārya of *āgamas*" who was illiterate and the temple priests (*Tānattār*) who were also illiterate were represented by one Sēman who signed for them.[8]

In Śaka 1365 (AD 1443-4) during the reign of Vīra Pratāpa Mahārāya of Vijayanagar the *utsava vigrahas* of the temple of Sri Ulagaviṭankīsvaranāyanār had become decayed (*Irandupōnapaḍiyāle)* and needed replacement. One of the Sivabrahmanas of the temple Dukkaipiḷḷai Aḍaikalamkāttān alias Tirumalai Āṇḍān had secured the good offices of one Puducceri Cōḻamaṇḍalattāpanācāryan Puduccēri uḍaiyān Piḷḷaiperumāḷ alias Aṇṇāmalainādar and others residing in Puduccēri in Tiruvārūr kūṟṟam in Jayamāṇikkavaḷanāḍu in Cōḻamaṇḍalam. This benefactor set up the images of the Nāyakar, and Nācciyār,

and Tiruvahanācciyār. In recognition of this service the bugle would be blown heralding "Puduccēriuḍaiyān Tambirān. temple priests, those attending to the township affairs, the *sthān-athār* and *ūrār* of Viraccilai all meeting together in the garden of the temple.[9]

Similarly, the priests, Koyilvācagappiccai mudaliyār, the temple accountant, and the *ūrār* of Virāccilai gave a deed to the temple priest Tirumalaiāṇḍār granting a land for his holding and a house site for attending to the temple affairs in the township *(Ūr srīkāryam)* and a right in the temple service. The land given as cultivating holding (*uḻavukkāṇi*) was sāravayal and the house site in the temple precincts. The sāravayal and appurtenent rights included fishery rental, rights of vendibility, and of being gifted away.[10]

These two grants were stated to be in the form of a command from Ādi Caṇḍēsvara in whose name the temple transactions were recorded The deity was a legal person, and documents were done and subscribed to in the name of Caṇḍēsvara, the House-keeper of the Divine abode.

The records[11] dating from Saka 1371 (AD 1449) brought out the township and the temple were under the control of the Maṟava chieftains of Sūrakkuḍi in Niyamappaṟṟu in the Tēnār irrigated tract in Kēraḷa Singavaḷanāḍu. In AD 1449 Sokkanārā-yanar alias Visayālaya dēvar instituted a *sandhi* (service) in his name in the temple of Ulagaviṭankēsvaramuḍaiyār. To defray the expenses on food offerings at the *sandhi* he gave away the tax-bearing *(Kaḍamai-mudalile)* ayacut lands of Tattamangalam which was a detached bit *(Tuṇḍippu paṟṟu)* of the ayacut lands of the village. The service was instituted, as in his native asterik of his birthday the *Sevvāi dōsa* or Mars' malevalent influence was noticed and the evil effects needed to be warded off. The document was attested by the donor and also by one Tiriya-virundān Vīra Pāṇḍya Vānādarāyan. This propitation was made in the Āḍi month, the first day of Daksiṇāyana — and had closely followed the event below :

The second document[12] of the same year (AD 1449) in the month of *Āni* was even more important. The Sūrakkuḍi chieftain Visayālayadēvan was invaded and attacked by another inimical chieftain Vaḷuttūr Pallavarāyan. (The malevalent influence of Mars was ocularly seen here!) The *ūrār* of Virāccilai and Koṭṭaiyur, without deflecting from their loyalty to the Sūrakkuḍi chieftain, conducted themselves ably to safeguard] his interests, and killed the invading chieftain, and completely destroyed his attempt. In return therefor, the Sūrakkuḍi chieftain waived the payment of 900 *paṇams* on the Āṟṟamalai lands from out of the total of 3200 *(Adurapaṇam)* paid by the two villages to him per year. Out of the net 2300 he further remitted 1/6 thereof (viz. 383/-1/3 *paṇam*) and only the balance was to be paid per year. Virukānavīra Pāṇḍya Vānādarāyan of the Paḍaipaṟṟu attested the deed.

The document, in its latter part, proceeded to waive the customary obligations being rendered by the two urār, again in recognition of their loyal services. Only the service to render Aḍaiyavaḷanjān man was to be performed by them. And all other obligations *(ūḷiyam)* they need not, any longer, perform. Continuing the only subsisting service, they shall also serve in the forces of the chieftains. Also they shall pay *Karam* (land dues) for all lands excluding the *Tiruviḍayāṭṭam* lands as was tendered by the ūrār of the two townships. This was attested by Tiriyavirundān alias Vīra Pāṇḍya Vāṇādarayan.

This last inscription is significant in that it reveals the character of the "*Paḍaipaṟṟu*" holdings, and the obligations they had. The *Paḍaipaṟṟu* should be construed not as a cantonment township of centrally recruited and trained standing army. It was composed of the Maṟava community holding the lands either under a king or under the chieftain and owed their loyalty to the king or the chieftain. They had the obligation to pay land dues in commuted money payment or in kind and also to render services of various kinds. Certainly they were liable to be conscripted for service either by the chieftains in times of feud

between the chieftains of the tract or for the king to whom the chieftain had owed loyalty in wartimes. Also they had to keep watch and ward and put an end to any rebellion or invasion or incursion against the chieftain to whom they had owed loyalty. In recognition thereof remissions were granted and services waived as in the case above. In ordinary times they were also like any other agricultural township, holding lands and cultivating them and paying the dues to the chieftains or to the temple if assigned to the latter. The ūrār had the same role as regards the land and revenue administration as any other agrarian community.

In the instant case, the term "*Aḍayavalanjān Ma.n.*" would perhaps refer to the obligation to raise earthen ramparts or enclosure-walls for the townships as a protective means.

In S 1419 (AD 1497)[18] the Sūrakkuḍi chieftain (*Arasu*) at the time, Sri Pallikoṇḍa perumāḷ alias Visayālayadēvar instituted a service (*Sandhi*) in his name in the temple at Virayāccilai. To defray its expenses he had granted lands in the village Veḷḷūr in the same nāḍu, i.e. Kananāḍu In the said village the following were excluded:

Old *dēvadānas*, endowments for the Jaina Paḷḷis, the lands for Ayyan (Ayyanār?) and for the Piḍāri temples, all charitable grants (*Danmam, Dānam*) and taxfree grants for other men (*Manittar iṛaiyili*) and also the *dēvadānam* lands for the temple endowed by his grandfather Tirumēni Visayālayadēvar. The subject of the grant was 3/5 of the lands held by the Perunallur residents in their holdings, and the miscellaneous levies there-from. The rates of obligations were as fixed for the nāḍu. In addition the *Paccaimudal* (payable on all earlier grants excluded above) shall also be payable to the temple for the new service instituted.

A copy of the same document[19] further stipulated that the *Eccōru* and *Kūrraruci* (cooked food to artisans and other sundry levies) shall be remitted and that the temple servants shall receive the *Kaḍamai* and *Kuḍimai* appropriately (*Porunda*).

Besides the donor, Tirumayyamalaiyāḷan Mīnavan attested the document.

In S 1436 (A.D. 1514-5)[14] during Kṛṣṇa(dēva)rāya's reign a Sūrakkuḍi chieftain, Aḍaikalangāttār *alias* Nāḍumaḍitta Visayālaya dēvan endowed 20 *mā* of lands as *Kuḍinīngādēvadāna* in Tirumāvayal. The inscription ends with the stipulation that the *nāṭṭavar* of the *Paḍaipaṟṟu* (Garrison Township) shall behave agreeably to the chieftain without any hitch. (*Namakku Paḍaippaṟṟu nāṭṭavar Virahara Naḍandu pōduvārāhavum)*. Alagiya Nāyinar Pallavarayan wrote the deed.

In S 1497 (AD 1575-76) Irāyappar son of Kāttār Visayālayadēvan of Sūrakkuḍi had endowed lands for the Siva temple in Kaṇṇanur village in the ayacut of the Big tank, lands which were irrigated by the middle sluice.[15]

In *Suvagiri* year, *Aippasi* month, Sokkappan Servaikāran had endowed for the merit of Tirumalai Raghunātha Setupāti Kāttadēvar, the Sētupati of Ramanāthapuram lands in Vīrakaṇḍanpaṭṭi as *Kuḍinīngā dēvadāna* for the Palanquin service, and maintenance of buildings and Brahmin feeding. Manarayyan Kuppayyan wrote the deed and it was attested by Sollayya pillai's son Gangayaḍiyār residing in Vānavīran madurai (Mānāmadurai). The accountant Chidambaranātha Piccan attested on behalf of and by the order of the ūrār of Virāccilai. The three upper mouldings (*Paḍai*) of the Gopura of the temple, the upper moulding over inner scaffold, the *Jagadippaḍai* over it in the *Mēladiṭṭānam* and the *Kumudappaḍai* over it, including the external and internal faces were the benefaction of Tirunallūr Kiḻān Periya uḍaiyān Nirambaḻagiyār.[16]

The last inscription of importance was of the year *Durmathi*, 25th day of *Kārtigai*. This was a deed of agreement among the ūrār of this garrison-township (*Paḍaipaṟṟu*). If there was any quarrel or altercation among the different castes of the township residents, the urār shall be convened and an enquiry into the facts be made, and those who were guilty were to pay a fine of 12 *paṇams* which shall be collected and paid to the

temple. If any died by assault or hurt it shall be avenged (*paḻi*). There will be no reprisal (*paḻi*) for any suicide by hanging oneself by rope or by taking poison. If any quarrelled with the temple servants 12 *paṇam* as fine shall be collected from the offender. This was the decision of the township. The township accountant Maṇavāḷar Sembunātan attested the deed.[17]

A sum up

Virāccilai had been throughout described as a garrison township (*paḍaipaṟṟu*) in Kānāḍu. It had an *ūr* assembly of the land holding residents. It had several detached bits (*tuṇḍippu*) like Tattamangalam. The two main constituents of the township residents were the Arasumakkaḷ, the scions of the Vijayālaya chieftain's family of Surakkuḍi, and the Maṟamudalis, i.e. the Maṟava leaders and their families. These residents had the authority, acting in their collective capacity, to buy lands and sell lands held in common, endow the proceeds therefrom for service in the temple or as a grant to the temple priests or other service holders. The township in such cases had agreed to bear the liabilities of land dues to the king/chieftain and appurtenant obligations of different kinds to the king, the chieftain, the community and the township organisation. They could also assign the dues to the township from the holdings of lands such as *Pāḍikāval* to the temple. The township also could honour any distinguished service to the *ūr*, as was rendered by the shepherd who was honoured with a title or the benefactor from Puduccēri who installed the images of the *Utsava mūrtis*, in the temple. Unoccupied house sites were also allottable by them to those in need such as Tirumalaiāṇḍān, the temple priest who was instrumental to invoke the interest of that benefactor. They could also stipulate the rates at which land dues had to be made over to the temple by the holders of land, as *Kuḍinīngā Dēvādāna* or *Kārānkiḻamai* or *Kāṇiyātci* tenures sometimes acting in concert with the temple servants and leaders of sects.

The township garrison had owed their loyalty to the Sūrakkuḍi chieftains who came to notice in these inscriptions

from the later Pāṇḍya times, after the Imperial Pāṇḍyas had declined and held their authority from early 15th century well nigh upto late in the 16th century through Vijayanagar times. The garrison had bestirred themselves to avert an incursion by an inimical chieftain Pallavarāyan[18] and had done him to death. In recognition there of the Vijayālaya chieftain appreciating their loyalty remitted about 1283-1/2 *paṇam* from the 3200 *paṇam* due to him from this garrison township. The chieftain also waived the obligations of personal service (*ūḻiyam*) except one, (*Aḍaiyavalanjān Man*). In a later inscription of A.D. 1514-5 also the nāṭṭavar of the *Paḍaiparṟu* were enjoined to be loyal to the chieftains of Sūrakkuḍi.

Thus, the predominant resident population of the township had held lands and had the obligation to fight for the chieftain, and destroy the interests inimical to them, and also to serve in war as between the chieftains or as a constituent of the king's army to whom the chieftain had pledged his loyalty. In their very nature, such engagements could often occur in the lean agricultural seasons.

The urār had also lately agreed, among themselves, that they be invested with powers to enquire into and punish the offenders, if any crime had occurred among the different castes or against the temple administration but had declared that there could be no reprisal against suicides. This was perhaps a re-assertion of their authority, all along exercised, at times when established authority was tending to fall into disarray and royal authority had weakened, or when structural changes in the tract were creeping in.

The township, *ūrār* in their collective organisation had thus besides land and revenue administration, also exercised police, and magisterial functions.

The Surakkuḍi chieftains had held sway over the township and its attached bits or hamlets. Five such chieftains were named. Parākrama Pāṇḍya Vijayālayadēva alias Seṇbagappon nayinār in Vīra Pāṇḍya's time, Sokkaṇārāyana alias Vijayālaya-

dēva (A.D. 1449), Paḷḷikoṇḍa perumāḷ alias Vijayālayadēva (A.D. 1514-5) and Kāttār Vijayālayadēva's son, Rāyappar (A.D. 1575-76). They had a seal which was invariably inscribed at the beginning or end of the inscriptions recording their grants.

One noteworthy feature of the residents of this township, whether they were Arasamakkaḷ (of the chieftain's family) or the Meṛamudalis (Meṛavas) or even a Sivabrāhmana temple priest, or the Koilvāsal piccamudaliār, the head of the Saiva sect looking after the temple vogues, a considerable number among them were illiterates and could not even sign their names. Thus, the township or the temple accountant had not only to transcribe the documents but had also to attest them on their behalf. Under such circumstances, the influence of these functionaries should have been quite considerable in the township. The other functionaries like the Nāṭṭu Parayan, blacksmiths, goldsmiths or stone-masons and artisans were comparatively better versed in the three Rs and could sign for themselves.

This garrison-township has had a continuous history from the mid 13th century to the 17th century and after, for over 500 years, and had retained that character throughout.

The Paḍaipeṛṛu should be distinguished from the retinue of soldiers solely on attendance at all times with the King. The residents were in normal times agriculturists holding lands on condition of loyal service to defend the interests of the Chieftain or the Ruler, and were liable to be called up for service in times of need.

At the same time the holdings were not "feudal" in character. The residents like those of other Ūrs, were agriculturists having occupancy and/or ownership rights, and attended to the Temple and Township affairs as any other. They were, of course, shown concessions in the rates of land dues payable to the King/or the Chieftain. Loyal and meritorious service was rewarded with sizeable reduction in the land dues from the residents of the Township.

Historically, the Paḍaipaṛṛu was significant as a half-way

house. It was an outfit already available in the Tamil Country, on which a cupola of military fief-holders (*Amaram*, or *Jīvitam*) could be easily fastened. This precisely was what the Vijaya-nagar and Nāyak rulers did on some of them after they took over the country. They either planted their own men, the Nāyak Generals, who migrated down south, in the last days of the Empire and after.

Alternatively they meshed in with the Townships' the Chieftains (*Arayars*) in the tract who shifted their loyalties to the new rulers. They thus became Chieftancies. The chords that forged this process of meshing in was personal loyalty, and tribute (*Kāṇikkai*), and the obligation to find men for military service needed The Paḍaipaṟṟu was the readily available formation or location, facilitating the fulfilment of such an obligation.

The bond that was strengthened between the Chieftancies and the Townships was the police and revenue authority over the tract which was pre-existing sometimes in a less intense form, (*Arasu*, *Nāyakkattānam*). This authority, acquired by or invested on individuals soon sucked out the lingering essence of collective and broadbased self determination of affairs inhering in a well-knit and established collective Townships, even if in their actual past functioning, it was moulded by or expressed through the accredited agricultural leadership of the Uḍayārs or the Veḷārs.

Paḍaipaṟṟus thus became, in whole or in part, more of military 'estates' (*Anksam*, *Sīrmai*) and less of the Ūr or the agrarian Township community.

Those others which did not get transformed into such 'estates' continued as agricultural communities trying to regulate their land and tenurial obligations and social and communal transactions, though in an attenuated form, if not by themselves, conjointly with others in the neighbourhood already forming the nāḍu.

1 P.I. 346.

2 P.I. 421.

Note : Both 346 and 421 are dated respectively in the 3rd and 4th year of Jatavarman Sundara. The signatories and the vendee also are identical in the two inscriptions and hence these two records are better assigned to the two consecutive regnal years of the same ruler.

3 P.I. 534.

4 P.I. 393.

5 P.I. 455.

6 P.I. 596. These have been discussed in the article on "Irrigation in Pudukkottai Inscriptions".

7 It may be noted that these uliyars continued right till the Pudukkottai Samasthanam got merged with the then Madras Presidency, and were abolished only after complete merger of the administration.

8 P.I. 644.

9 P.I. 705.

10 P.I. 706.

11 P.I. 461.

12 P.I. 462.

13 P.I. 463 & 464.

14 P.I. 731.

15 P.I. 756.

16 P.I. 1023.

17 P.I. 969.

18 On the Pallavarayars scoring over the Surakkudi chieftains please see the study on "Kudumiyanmalai."

TIRUVARANGULAM

Tiruvaranguḷam is a village 8.05 kilometres from Pudukkōṭṭai to its east in Ālanguḍi Taluk. The history of this township can be reconstructed, based on the 65 inscriptions in the temple of Harathīrthīśvara and Śrī Bṛhadāmba. The 65 inscriptions can be classified with reference to the different dynasties of rulers as under:

Cōḻa	—	2
Pāṇḍya	—	33
Vijayanagar	—	10
Post-Vijayanagar	—	5
Unascribed or undated including later inscriptions	—	15
		65

Its history is of interest as a typical instance of the Nāṭṭār's role in the township activity, and their contribution to its development. The place had also been particularly a stronghold of the Arayars (chieftains) in the medieval times who were also locked up in internecine struggles among themselves which they resolved but not without much bloodshed. This township was located in the Vallanāḍu division of the kingdom, Cōḻa or Pāṇḍya or Vijayanagar as the case might be. Even if rulers had changed the Nāḍu continued to be of the same name.

The main temple should have sprung up, and the township settlement too with it, prior to the 13th century. The earliest available record was of the 39th year of Kulōttunga Cōḻa III (A.D. 1217).[1] The shrine of the Goddess was set up by a lady Kaṇṇuḍaiperumāḷ alias Pirāṭṭi Āḻvār, wife of the chieftain Tirukkoḍunguṉṟamuḍaiyār alias Nisadarāyar of Ponnamarāpati

in Piränmalai nāḍu. She was the daughter (or in law ?) of Kēraḷāndūr Nisadarāyar.

Next year, (AD 1218-40th year of Kulōttunga III) the Nāṭṭār of Vallanāḍu in Rājarāja Vaḷanāḍu and of Kūrappattāḷvudēvimaṅgalam met in the hall called *Tēvum Tiruvum uḍaiyān* in the temple in full strength and in the month of Āḍi they made an agreement deed: They agreed to look after the tenantry of the temple holdings within the Township, as also the tenantry of other *dēvadānams* without, holding lands in the township. In doing so if any one forcibly waylaid or obstructed and captured cattle or did any other mischief (*sidambu*) he shall make over 2*mā* of land to the temple, besides releasing the caught or captured cattle. The Sivabrāhmaṇas or priests, traders, Ceṭṭis, agriculturists (veḷḷā ḷar), (Kaikkōḷas), weavers, dancing girls, (kammāḷar) blacksmiths, shepherds (Iḍaiyar) and others who had bought lands, wet and dry, and residing therein shall pay the land dues (*iṛai*) to the temple as *Kuḍinīngā dēvadānam.* (Temple lands endowed, with tenancy unchanged). The rate of levy shall be 10 *kalams*, 1 *tūni*, 1 *padakku*, paddy for wet, and for dry 15 *kāsu* for *mā*. The Nāṭṭār made over the proceeds to the temple, and agreed to relieve any hindrance that the tenantry might experience.[2] Presumably, the Nāṭṭār undertook to themselves pay the dues to the state, while assignining these proceeds to the temple. These were the only two Cōḷa and earliest inscriptions in the temple It could be legitimately inferred that this settlement and the Nāṭṭārs' assurance of secure conditions for the agrarian community would have been made sometime after the establishment of the township, and cultivation had been committed in its fields and perhaps, was needed in the troubled times of Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya struggle for supremacy in the 13th century

The largest volume of epigraphic data belonged to the Pāṇḍyan period. It commenced from the 15th year of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1231) when a chieftain from Malaimaṇḍalam made a gift to the goddess shrine.[3] Thereafter beginning from the 12th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara

Pāṇḍya[4] a number of transactions made by the Nāṭṭārs or with which they were associated were recorded.

Vīra Pāṇḍya, the ruler in his 7th year (A.D. 1260?) made a grant of Muḍimannanāmanallūr, otherwise called Perunkarraik-kuḍi in Kāna nāḍu, which was a garrison township in the Perunguḍipuravu for instituting a service *(sandhi)* in the Tiruvarangulam temple. In the order addressed to the Nāṭṭār of Kāna nāḍu he had assigned the land dues, in cash and kind, miscellaneous levies and community levies to the temple as *iṛaiyili* and the Nāṭṭavar (of Vallanāḍu?) seemed to have been associated with *(kūdaninṛu)* or to have stood by this order.[5] The royal official, Tirumandira Olai (the chancellor) Sirugu-ḍaiyān Aḻagiyān had addressed another order to the temple authorities in the same year, by which the proceeds from the following sources of revenue were assigned for the pūja and repair *(Tiruppaṇi)* works in the temple.

(1) The cash levies and *kaḍamai*, the levies paid by the Aṛayars of Vallanāḍu in proportion to the Dēvadāna holdings of the temple in the Nāḍu.

(2) The cash and *kaḍamai* dues collected from the (sivabrāhmanas), (priests, kaikkoḷas) weavers, the merchants resident in Vallanāḍu Perunderu, or the Vallaṇāḍan Big street the blacksmiths and others.

(3) The resident carpenters and goldsmiths dues (collectable share), levies on the toddy-palmyra yield from dry lands(?) *(Īḻam punjey?)* salt-cartloads, and lintels-cartloads, shop-cess and betal-brokerage included, all proceeds from miscellaneous levies.[6]

From the enumeration of the sources of the cash and kind receipts assigned it could be inferred that the Township had grown, and the crafts and trade had become well-established with a good market. It also brought out the wide coverage of the goods and services brought to assessment, and how the rural economy had necessarily to contribute a share of every good or service marketed, to the State or to its assignees. In the 15th

year of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, the Nāṭṭār of Vallanāḍu made a concession to the temple priests. They had recalled in the 10th year of an earlier ruler, Sundara Pāṇḍya a *Sūrai vari* (tax) had been determined in cash to be collected from the temple priests. The Nāṭṭār had distributed this amount among the priests *(Nāngal iṭṭa piriyalpaḍiyāl)*. The Nāṭṭār now resolved that the apportioned or distributed amount of cash and other dues that might be cast on the Sivabrāhmanas of Tiruvarangulam temple collectable in future *(varuvana)* shall be taken on the Nāḍu itself and paid by the Nāṭṭār themselves. The Accountant of the Nāḍu Tiruvarankuḷa Vēḷān Arankuḷapperumāḷ attested the deed by order of the Nāṭṭār[7]. This was, perhaps, a special concessionmade to the temple priests of this temple.

In the 17th year of same reign, the chieftain of Arañtāngi had endowed a land in Tiru(varanguḷa)nallur for a *sandhi pūja* as "*Kārānkiḷamai*"[8] and there was a similar endowment of the Nāṭṭār of Kānanāḍu in the 5th year of "Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya"[9].

The period of thirteen years in the reign of Jāṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (accession circa A.D. 1253) from 4th to 17th year marked a period of intense activity for the township and in the temple, particularly, due to the special interest shown by a chieftain (Mudali) Udaiyanseydān Bhuvanasinga dēvan under Sēmapiḷḷaiyār, a high royal official under Vīra Pāṇḍya. Sēmapiḷḷai who also figured as a feudatory under the Cōḷa, Rājēndra III in a Tirukkaṇṇapuram record has been held to be identical with this feudatoay of Vīra Pāṇḍya.[10] This bunch of records have also yielded a fund of information on the functioning of the Nāṭṭār, and the economic life of this township.

In the 4th year the chieftain Bhuvanaśingadēvan[11] purchased for 1500 *kāsu* 1/4 share in the field called Ācāriyan vayal and endowed it for preparing a pudding *Piṭṭamudu* for offering to the goddess on every Sunday. 3 *kurunis* of paddy by the copper *nāḻi* (unit of measurement) and 1 *nāḻi* of green gram, and one coconut and 10 nuts and 20 betel were to be procured from the grain yield of the land.

1 *uri* or 2 *ulakkus* of ghee and *kuruṇi* milk were to be supplied from the 4 cows endowed.

2 He also endowed a lamp weighing 69 *palam* and two jewellery items Tirumēkalai of 17 kaḷanju of gold, a *tiruppaṭṭam* of 10 *kaḷanju.*

3 He instituted a service (*one sandhi*) after the chieftain Sēmappiḷḷaiyār in his *sivanāma* 'Arasakaṇḍarāman'. He assigned for burning 2 lamps, the cess collected from the two furnaces (*ulai*) run by the blacksmiths, at 3 *kāsu* per furnace, for 2 furnaces in the township 6 *kāsu* out of which *uḻakku* ghee was to be supplied for the 2 lamps measured by the *nāḻi* (in vogue in the shop? or the *nāḻi* scooped and turned out of wood or bamboo?) (*kaḍaiyil nāḻi*)

4 The Vallanāḍu Arayars were collecting per year 5 *accn*, equivalent to 6000 *kāsu* (at 1200 *kāsu* per *accu*) and another 300 *kāsu* for the clothings to be provided in the festival in the month of Panguni (March-April). The aggregate amount of 6300 *kāsu* was to be deployed at 17-1/2 *kāsu* per day against which ghee (measured by the copper *nāḻi* of 1-1/4 *nāli* (or measure 1-1/4) was to be supplied for 75 lamps for the night pūja service from the time the evening service commenced by beat of drums upto the end of the final service to Gaṇēśa.

(5) Some sheep were also endowed by the chieftain Sēmapiḷḷayār or on his behalf; *3 āḻākku* of ghee was to be supplied for 23 lamps. Out of these 23 lamps, 5 lamps equivalent was set off for the *Dīpa ārādhana* and *Tiruvālattaṭṭu* services and the hand torches and the remaining 18 lamps were to be as follows: from early morning twilight service to the midday service - 11 lamps, and for the night service - 4 lamps for the 4 shrines of the sons of Siva (Gaṇēśa, Subrahmaṇya); 1 lamp in the kitchen, and 2 lamps one each for the goddess, and Gaṇēśa shrine.

This was an interesting document throwing light on some economic aspects of the times, which could be deduced as follows:

1. It gives the exchange rate for one *accu* as 1200 *Kāsu.*
2. There were 2 units of measurement even for a *nāḻi* in vogue, one of copper and another (in wood scoop) by turning in a bamboo or scooping out of the wood *(kaḍaiyil).*
3. *1 uḻakku* of ghee by *kaḍaiyil nāḻi* was costing 6 *kāsu* while 1 *uḻakku* of ghee by copper *nāḻi* cost only 3-1/2 *Kāsu.*
4. Per *1 āḻākku* of ghee 7-1/2 lamps were to be kept for the duration of say 6 hours on an average. The set off for the *Dīpa* services was 5 lamps.
5. The blacksmiths were levied a cess by the State on the basis of furnace worked and there were 2 furnaces in the village. Besides they were annually made to pay a cess by the chieftains of the Nāḍu to defray the clothing expenses during the festival.

Following this institution of the service, the Nāṭṭār of Tenkavināḍu also endowed in the same year the proceeds from *kaḍamai* (in grain) and *accu vari* (in cash) from Kuḷattur village for the festival named "Arasukaṇḍarāman" in the month of Purattāsi (September-October) and for the bath ceremony on the Sadaya day, the natal star of the Sāmantanār (Sēmappiḷḷaiyār). Presumably, the Nāḍu was to bear the dues to the State from its common funds. The Nāṭṭār of Kavināḍu were made to make this endowment at the pleasure of the Sāmantanār Sēmappiḷḷaiyār.[18] A large number of signatories had signed on behalf of the Kavināḍu.

1 Muḍikoṇḍa Cōḻa Tenkavināṭṭu Vēḷān
2 Sembiyan Tenkavināṭṭukkōn
3 Kulōttunga Cōḻa Vēḷān
4 Muḍi cōḻa vaḷanāṭṭu Vēḷān
5 Aravanvēḷān
6 Villa(rā)yan
7 Periyarājāṇḍān
8 Vēlanperiyān
9 Vēlan Ciru periyān

10 Aravan Bhaṭṭan
11 Aravan Iḍan Koṇḍān
12 Piḷḷaiyān Periyān
13 Vēḷān Dēvan
14 Mummuḍi Cōḷa Tenkavināṭṭu Vēḷān
15 Dēvan Sīrāmadēvan
16 Mūttān Cirrūruḍaiyān
17 Irāśasundiran
18 Vēḷān Manran
19 Tiruvāyakkulattādan
20 Tiruvaranga Maṇi

The Accountant of the Nāḍu Tiruvetpūruḍaiyān Tiruttapaḍaiyān Nāṭṭān, in obedience to the order of the Nāḍu, (*Nāṭṭu tiru-vaḍi paṇiyāl*) attested it.

A third transaction[14] in the same year (4th of Vīra Pāṇḍya) endowed, in one stroke, lands for the temple and also the sale-proceeds thereof for maintaining a temple garden. A weaver settled in the village precincts of the temple, Kurangan Uḍaiyār alias Rajagambhīra Piramarāyan had been imposed a penatly of 6000 *Kāsu* for an (unspecified) offence by Bhuvanasinga dēvar, one of the chieftains (*Mudali*) of Nāyanār Sēmappiḷḷaiyār. Apparently the weaver had no cash. He sold his half share in Ācāryan vayal (in which already 1/4 share had been acquired and endowed[15] for the temple) besides some other parcels of lands for 6000 *Kāsu* to the temple.

This deed had been attested by the vendor and also one Udayān Kuraṅgan (his son ?) who was apparently illiterate and hence the scribe of the document, Tiru Varaṅguḷa Vēḷān signed for him.

On the 6000 *Kāsu* of penalty being remitted to the treasury of Sēmappiḷḷayār the amount was deposited in the temple treasury for maintaining a garden being created by Sēmappiḷḷayar to be named after him. Udayān Bhuvanasingar had also endowed some wet and dry lands and tree-yield to those who were to tend the garden named after Arasakaṇḍarāman (i.e.

Sēmappiḷḷaiyār) and to attend to the cocoanut saplings planted therein.[16]

Next year,[17] (5th year) Sēmappiḷḷaiyār was pleased to assign the cash proceeds (in their proportion thereto payable to the Nāḍu by the Nagarattār - the merchant community - residing in the Vallanāḍan Big Street) for the evening lamp service. One of the chieftains of Sēmappiḷḷaiyār, Vānanenjān Tirunaṭṭaperumāḷ alias Vīradēvan and the superintendent of accounts of Semappiḷḷaiyār, Aḷagiya Sēmavēḷān attested the deed.

In the 6th year, Bhuvansingadēvan again constructed the kitchen for the temple during the four summer months Masi to Ani (February-March to June-July), besides making additional land endowments.[19]

Four years later (10th year)[20] Bhuvanasingadēvan fixed the rates at which the various holders of lands were to measure the temple's share of the yields from the occupied lands, wet and dry as below :

If the tenants were the priests, weavers or shepherds and blacksmiths in the temple-township or precincts while taking the share from wet and dry lands, 15 *kalam* per *mā* of paddy in the ayacut of Saṇkanēri. In other occupied lands including wet lands they shall pay 1/2 (*vāram*) of produce. For dry lands, cultivated with crops the yield from which could be measured by *marakkāl* (grain measure) 1/6 of the produce shall be given to the temple. For cotton-cultivated lands 600 *kāsu* per *mā* and also 3 *nāḻi* of (cotton-seed oil) by the scooped *nāḻi* (*kaḍāyil*). These rates were to take effect from the month of Āḍi in the 9th year. The township had a population of weavers and some lands grew cotton.

In the same year, Bhuvanasingadēvan determined the rates of the batta (in kind) payable to the temple servants for superintendence of harvest operations called "*Taḍikuruṇi*" - as follow : For wet lands - per 1 *taḍi* - on the day of harvesting or cutting the crop, one *kuruṇi*; on the day of threshing (*Aḍikkum anṟu*) *kuruṇi* for the actual number of days (*ninranāḷil*) in attendance.

For dry lands - for the number of days of attendance food *(sōru)* and *kuruṇi* if the crops grown were gingelly, and horsegram and pulse (redgram). For lands growing *tiṇai*, *varagu*, and *payaru* (millets and greengram) 1/10 (of the produce) for days of attendance.

From out of the proceeds of this superintendence levy, the morning 'waking up' service (*Tiruppaḷḷiyeḻucci*) was institued for the merit of Sēmappiḷḷaiyār at the rate of 1 *kuruni* (rice) by (copper*nāli*). The supplemental needs and 30 lamps,[21] were also provided for.

Next year, Bhuvanasingadēvar set up a Gaṇēśa shrine from the plinth to the *stūpi*, also for the merit of his master, Semappiḷḷaiyār.[22]

In the 17th year of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya at the instance of one Vaḷittuṇaipperumāḷ alias Viḷādarāyar the temple authorities, the Urār, the Nagarattār (in the Big Street) and the many resident cultivators gave an undertaking - that during the four days of festivals of the deity, each resident shall use his own oil and have a standing torch burnt each at the entrance of his house.[23]

Assuming this last also pertained to the same ruler, the thirteen years of Vīra Pāṇḍya' s reign was a period of a number of benefactions, regulatory measures, and augmentation of shrines and services in the temple, due to the interest evinced by the Sāmantanār, Sēmappiḷḷaiyār and his subordinate official, Bhuvanasingadēvan.

In the 9th year of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya the circumambulating *(prākāra)* wall called "*Sīmangala Tirumadil*" was completed by Kāngeyarāyar; the Nagarattār (merchants) residing in Vallanāḍu Perunderu appear to have made some endowment or contribution for the works carried out at the instance of Kāngēyarāyan.[24] The second *gopura* also was built by one Perunarayur-Uḍayān Arayan Periyān alias Villavan Pallavadarayan and named after Kāngeyarāyar.[25]

In the 14th year of Jaṭāvarman Rājarāja Sundara Pāṇḍya a

benefactor Taccaṇamuḍayān Ambalavan Nāyakar purchased lands in Sengakkuḍi ayacut from the Nagaram of Aruḷmoḷi dēvapuram, a *nagaram* in Kāṇanāḍu for providing for a lamp service for 50 (*vāḷāl vaḷi tirandān*) *paṇam*. The Nagarattār also relieved the lands sold of the obligation of *kaḍamai* (due to state), the distributed share of dues to the *Nādu*, the apportioned share of the dues to the *ūr* and all other apportionable obligations and services. These obligations, were, prorata, distributed among the holders of the lands in the Township or Townships of the nāḍu. The signatories were representatives of the vendor - *Nagaram* - Vayiravanār, Dēsamāthākkaḷ, Śamanjar, the agent or representative of Cilai ceṭṭiyārs - Inbapperumāḷ. The *ūr Kaṇakku* Aḻagapperumāḷ Udaiyan Seydān wrote the deed. Munaiyadarayar, Ponnāṇḍār, and Veṇāvuḍayār also attested the deed.[26] The sthānattār (temple authorities) also gave an undertaking that the vendee might induct the tenants at his discretion in the purchased land, and from out of the produce 1 *uḻakku* of oil per day shall be measured out for 2 lamps to be burnt.[27]

In the reign of Māravarman Kulasēkhara, Bhuvanēkavīra gifted a paṭṭam made of 10 *kaḻanju* of gold to the deity.[28] In the 2nd year of Pāṇḍya Kulasēkhara the Ūrār of Tiruvaraṇguḷanallūr alias Perunkaṟaikkuḍi in Kāṇanāḍu agreed as follows: The Ūrār had obtained on purchase and usufrutary mortgage some lands in the ayacuts of Perunkaṟaikkuḍi; Nelvāy, Sōlai ēri, from the Maṟavarayars of Peruṇkuḍi. They agreed to pay the *kaḍamai* or *iṟai* (land-dues) for wet, dry and (tamarind) trees at the same rates at which they had paid to the Āḷuḍaiyanāyanār of Kaḍaiyakkuḍi[29] to the Tiruvaranguḷam Temple

In the 11th regnal year of Pāṇḍya Kulasēkhara the sthānattār of the temple gave an undertaking to one Udayan Aḻagan Kaliyugameyyan alias Kalikaḍinda Sundarapāṇḍyadēvan of Vilathur in Miḻalaikkūṟṟam as below: The said Dēvan had created a garden and a pond, *Tiru Ceṇgaḻunīr Ōḍai* and to maintain the tenders of the garden *(pūttoṇḍar)* he had endowed

34 *paṇam*. In return, the temple authorities agreed to measure 2 *nāḷi* of rice in addition by the side of the lift-plank (*Eṛṛa palakai puraṭṭu*) and after the food was offered to Piḷḷayār and Nāyanār the garden-tenders shall get cooked rice thereof besides a *kuruṇi* of paddy[30].

In the 24th year of Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara the temple authorities and superintendents, priests and the temple accountant all endowed a land as *Vaidyavṛtti* (a land on service tenure for an apothecary) Tāmarakallaivanam Ātrēyan Tiruccendana mudaliār alias Nimbavana vaidyar. The land was from out of the *dēvadāna* lands and tax free and the rights to sell and gift away these lands were also granted to the apothecary.

Tiruvarangulam temple was specially held in veneration by the (Arayars) chieftains of the *Nāḍus* around, Vallanāḍu and Kānāḍu and Kavināḍu. The Arayars were constantly engaged in family feuds resulting in bloodshed and murder of the members of the Arayar families. They often resolved to end their disputes and solemnly entered into agreements, sometimes adding penal clauses for breach of the agreements. But even such settlement of feuds seemed to have had but temporary effect. In the 29th year of Māṛavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya[32] among the Pūvarasankuḻi Arayars, Sūriyan Toṇḍaimān and his family members, and those of Sōḻiyan Ulamāṇikkapparayan, and Pāṇi Thēvar alias Iḷatarayar's sons, entered into an agreement to end their family feud which had already caused three stabbing incidents.

In the 35th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya, again, the Puvaraśaṇkuḻi Arayars, Iḷatarayan, Ulagamāṇikkappaṛayan and Māvalivānātarayan, and a few others resolved their feud.[33]

Four years later[34] the disputant Arayar families from a garrison township of Kānanāḍu and Pudukkoṭṭai Arayars solemnly swore to end their disputes. They also indicated 5 *mā* of land and 1000 *paṇam* as penalty for breach of the settlement. One more instance of such settlement of the feud among the Arayars was that between Kuppan and his family and Inban

Āriyaccakravarti[35] and his family

These settlement deeds were addressed to the temple authorities and the "Ūrār" of the township.

In the 9th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya the temple purchased lands from Vēppanguḍi Aranguḷavan Koṟṟan and his brothers, and Siraiyaneavilla muttarayan and his brother's lands in Iranguḷam, a *dēvadāna* ayacut, for 10,000 (*Kāsu*?). The vendors agreed that if any claims were preferred they were to give land for land and the temple's title was not to be disturbed. The vendors also agreed to themselves bear the land tax (*iṟai)* and *kuḍimai*, (the obligation of the tenantry). The Nāṭṭār accountant drew up the deed and attested it.[36]

In the same year, the temple went to the rescue of the Nāṭṭār by even offering the silver *Tirukoḷkai*, adorning the deity and thereby raising 11,000 *Kāsu* which was paid to the king's officers as the aggregate arrears of land dues in cash and kind from the holding of one Perunarkilināḍāḷvān. The holding was made free of taxes and endowed for a festival instituted by the Nāṭṭār in their name to be conducted on the Ārdhrā *naksatra* in Mārgaḷi month (December-January) when the deity was taken in procession.[37] Perhaps, this refered to Naṭarāja. The Naṭarāja Image in the temple was very famous, and noted for its beauty. It is now conserved in the National Museum of New Delhi.

During the two centuries (1384-1585) when Vijayanagar rule had gradually extended to the tract the temple had had some additional shrines, and the role of the Nāṭṭār continued to be intensive. The tract had also felt the strain of the land levies and the changed modes adopted by the Nāyak chieftains or governors.

Already a separate shrine for Subrahmaṇya the "elder son" of Siva[38] had been set up; a Brahmin Ulaga-piḷḷayār had performed its consecration and bath ceremony in the 28th year of Pāṇḍya Sīvaladeva. (His native village was Rājākkaḷnēri in Nāṭṭāṟṟu pōkku). In

Saka 1378 (A.D. 1455-56) an image of Kaṇṇappa Nāyanār was installed by one Aḻagiya Tiruccirrambalamuḍayān Sokkanār s/o. Sembāvuḍaiyān of Rājēndra Cōḷapuram in Kōnādu.[39] The Vijayālaya chieftains of Sūraikudi and Arantāngi Toṇḍaimāns made land grants for services (*sandhi*) instituted in their names, and for construction of works in the temple. The Sūraikkuḍi chilftain's grant was in a garrison township in Kānanāḍu and made in A.D. 1462.[40] In S' 1436 or A.D. 1514-5 [41] Ponnambalanāḍa Toṇḍaimān granted the residual lands (excluding earlier devadāna grants) in Kandākuḍi fields in Pālaiyūr in his Sirmai of Pālayūr with a total extent of 12 *mā* and *Mundirikai*. The Nāṭṭār of Vallanāḍu themselves endowed 21 *pon* and from the interest accruing thereon they instituted a Vallanāḍan sandhi for the wellbeing of the Nāyak governor in Krsṇarāya's time [42] (A.D. 1525). The vogue of the times was to institute services and charities for the merit of the new Masters (*Svāmi*). In A.D. 1517, a Nāyak subordinate Tiruvārūr Moṇṇai appar Viranarasingarāya Nāyakkar Viḻupparayan conveyed for the merit of his master (*Svāmi*) Vīranarasingarāya Nāyakkar the following: The *Nāḍu* had been collecting towards the State dues, a *jōḍi, sūlavari,* (a favourable assessment for temple lands) 20 pon per year from the temple of Tiruvarangulam. This amount of 20 pon was deducted from the demand of the *Nāḍū* and '*Rēkai*' (written account) and it was to be spent for a festival and the car festival to the deity.[43]

In the year Siddhārthi (A.D. 1499) the Nāṭṭār were obliged together with the Vallanāḍu Arayars having *Pāḍikkāval* rights by sale or mortgage to sell the 3 villages, Pālaikkuḍi, Kaḷanguḍi, and Kilinallūr with the apportioned tax dues demanded by Narasanāyakkar itself as the sale price *(Iṛaiyē vilayāga)* as the 3 Ūrārs were unable to pay the state dues. They had borrowed the amount for payment of *irai* first and then unable to repay the loans they sold the lands.[45] The temple was free to induct tenants at its discretion.[44]

This document clearly revealed (as stated elsewhere) the land

dues fixed by the Nāyak governors or agents under the Vijayanagar rulers was excessive. It was fixed for a *Nāḍu* or a territorial division comprising several villages, and apportioned among individual townships and the quantum so fixed (payable in pon or cash) [45] was out of proportion to what the township could bear. The fact that the sale price was itself equal to the quantum of demand was a measure of the excessiveness of the levy and the distress of the holders of land. Besides there were apparently no cultivating tenancy and the temple was allowed to induct their own tenants (Kuḍimūṭṭi) a concession not ordinarily granted in the medieval times For the tenantry from outside had even to pay a tax to the *Ur* and the Nāḍu under the normal pattern of township levies. The occupancy tenants, the Urār or Veḷḷāḷas and the Arayans who had rights in the lands by sale or usufructory mortgage were only too willing to relinquish their holdings and so too the Pāḍikkāval holders

Two other records[45] of A.D. 1520 and 1523[46] gave further details of the concessions that the Nāṭṭar made in favour of the temple and its inducted tenants. In 1520, the Nāṭṭār clarified that in these three villages the temple could induct their own tenants and cultivate the lands as homefarm lands "*Paṇṇai*" that is the temple would be entitled to the full yield from which the *pūjās*, construction works, the temple car festival and other expenses were to be defrayed as the Nāṭṭār's charity. The Nāṭṭār also agreed to bear on themselves the land-dues payable in cash (pon) as apportioned internally for the three villages from the accounts of the Nāḍu The Arayars also agreed to remit the per capita tax (*Āḷvari*) for each village. The Nāṭṭāṛ also agreed to bear all demands (*vēnḍukōḷ*), distributed burdens or taxes or cess viniyōgam *Eccōru* (feeding of the Royal servants or executives or artisans?) *Kūṟṟu arisi* and *veṭṭi muṭṭāvāl* or (free or forced labour) and to forego their rights of collecting *Pāḍikkāval* grain from the temple. In effect the 3 villages were to be treated as on "*Sarvamānya*" tenure". Three years later in A.D. 1523, recalling the last transaction the Nāṭṭār made a further

concession. They recalled in the 3 *dēvadāna* villages they were collecting *Āḷvari* (per capita tax) on the tenants. To ward off the malevalent effect of the planetary position in that year which was adverse to the *Nāḍu* and Ponnambalanāda Toṇḍaimānār, the Nāṭṭar gave up these dues, and stipulated that the Veḷḷāḷas, and the tenants from without the township shall thereafter pay the taxes and do the services (*ūḻiyam*) to the temple itself as *Sarvamānyam* By order of the Nāṭṭār the *Nāṭṭukaṇakku*, Nādumaditta Kāḷingarāyan wrote the deed.

In S' 1452 (A.D. 1530) the Nāṭṭār of Vallanāḍu gave a deed confirming the transfer of "*Kāniāṇmai*" (holding the occupancy rights) in 7 mā of land initially made to Sokkanār Paḷḷavarayar of the garrison township of Virāccilai in the dēvadāna village of Kaḷanguḍi in Kiḷipayiṟṟu nāḍu. The rights of occupancy conferred included the subsoil water rights and the trees and the irrigation rights and the proportionate share of fisheries in the tanks from which the lands were eligible to take water. Sokkanār Paḷḷavarayar's son Kuḷatti Paḷḷavarayar had transferred these rights to Maṇavāḷan son of Māṇikkan and a few others. The Nāṭṭār ratified this transfer of the holding, subject to the "*vāram*" or share being paid to the temple by the transferees on a par with other fields. The State dues (Rājakaram) and other apportioned levies were to be remitted as "*Sarvamānya*", (as the whole village was on that tenure). The transferee had the rights of vendibility, gifting away, and of reclaiming the lands. The signatories to the document were:

Muḍikoṇda Vēḷār of Kiḷipayiṟṟu nāḍu.
Kalanguḍi Kulōttunga Vēḷār

The Accountant of the Nāḍu, Kāngēyar wrote the deed as ordered by the Vallanāḍu nāṭṭār. By order of the temple authorities the temple accountant Āvuḍayan Vaḷḷanāḍu Vēḷār also attested it.[47]

Next year, A.D. 1531-32,[48] the Nāṭṭār, again, granted as a charitable endowment for a *maṭha Maḍappuram* lands in Madiyāda vinōdan vayal. The *maṭha* was located in the garrison

colony (*padaivīḍu*) in Vallanāḍan Perunderu or Big Street otherwise called South street and called Tiruppunavāsamudaliyār *maṭha*. The rights conferred excluded or were clear of cultivating rights (*Kārān kiḻamai nīngalāka*) but the rights conferred were vendible. The *Nāḍu* agreed to bear all State dues on the land and labour-levies and service-levies and other apportioned levies and the *Maḍappuṛam* was to be *Sarvamāṇya*. The *Maṭha* could induct tenants of their choice and have the lands ploughed and cultivated.

The accountant of the *Nāḍu* drew up the deed by order of the *Nāḍu* and signed it. Besides that accountant, Nimbavanapperumāḷ Danasurāyār, Sevandi Kāḷingarāyan also attested the deed.

These two transactions can lead to the following inferences:

(1) The transfer of the occupancy (*Kāṇiāṇmai*) right conferred on one had to have the ratification of the *Nāḍu*.

(2) While ratifying the transfer or mutation, the rights and obligaions of the transferee and of the *Nāḍu* and the temple which had the grant of the village as *Sarvamānya* were stipulated

(3) The representatives of the *Nāḍu* in which the principal *dēvadāna* grantee was located, the representative of the *Nāḍu* and the residents of the *Ūr* as well, in which the lands were situated, had attested the deed.

(4) Similarly, the *Nāḍu* when granting a land for the *Maṭha* stipulated its rights and obligations and those of the *Nāḍu*. Did the *Sarvamāṇya* to the *maṭha* specifically exclude the cultivating rights (*Kārān-kiḻamai nīngalāka*) so that the tenants to be inducted by them may be fastened to the land? Or alternatively, the kārāṇmai rights were cleared or removed prior to the grant to the *maṭha?*

(5) The incumbent Accountant of the *Nāḍu* was different within two successive years.

In A.D. 1539 [40], a (*Arasu*) chieftain of Vaḻuttūr in Tenpan-

angāḍu, Konērirājappallavarayar's son Sivandeḻundān Tirumalarāsappallavarāyar instituted a service in the temple *(sandhi)* for which he donated lands granted to him by Irāmappanāyakka Ayyan as "*umbaḷigai sīmai*" i.e., for maintenance of himself on condition of service (of providing men for the Nāyak forces) The lands granted were deducted from the demand of the Nāḍu and of the cash demand and assessed lands. The document was drawn up by the executive at the palace gate of Sivandeḻunda Pallavarāyar, by name Sevandinādar.

The impact of Vijayanagar rule could be felt in the modes of land-dues levy and the tenures of land; as well as in the administrative organisation. A personal character of the estate, of the staff, and the grant was explicit in this transaction. But the Nāttār were still, very much, the organisation which could act for the community, in concert with the temple authorities where any new rights, privileges and recognition had to be extended.

In A D. 1544[50] the Nine Nagarattār (The merchant residents of nine townships) had built a *Maṇḍapam* for a swinging festival on the Ārdhra day festival, and on that occasion the *Nāḍu* and the Temple authorities (*thāṇam*) had made an arrangement (*Ninrayam sic* for *Nirnayam*) which, unfortunately, was not available in the incomplete inscription. The nine *nagarams* together with the 'men' of Vallanāḍu and the temple treasury authorities built the south wall in the second prakara and also endowed some lands as *Maṭhapuram* for a Maṭha.[51] A *maṇḍapa* for the sacred bath of Aḻagiya Kūthar (Naṭarāja) was built by a Kulattūr-resident Sankaran Dēvan alias Cērapāṇḍya dēvar;[52] a silver pot for His bath was gifted by a resident of Sundarapāṇḍyapuram[53]; a well and a tank were excavated by two other benefactors[54], and the front *maṇḍapa* was a collective contribution of several merchants each donating a pillar.[55]

In Vibhava year the three Urār of Irumbāḷi, Marudāṇḍanilai and Vadamayilāppūr gave the right of *Pāḍikkāval* to the Nāṭṭār of Vallanāḍu who were enjoined to afford protection to

the three Ūrs or townships without anything untoward happening (*Vallanāṭṭu Naṭṭavarāl oru Pollāppaṛa Kāttu nōkki pōdakkaḍavadāgavum*). On these terms, the three Urārs agreed to measure out 40 *Kalam* of paddy per year to the temple treasury to be delivered in one instalment.[56]

Sum-up and conclusion

The township status of Tiruvarangulam was not clear. The "Urār" were vaguely referred to as in PI 437 and 619. But the township had also a '*Nagaram*' or the merchant community living in the Big street named after the Vallanāḍu. It had weavers (who could also be conscripted as soldiers in times of need) and blacksmiths and artisans Perhaps, because of the composite character of the residents in the township, it had a special status in the Vallanāḍu though not stated so anywhere. The *Nāḍu* too was more extensive, comprising a number of villages or settlements and besides or perhaps, for this reason, it could take on or impose obligations of a wider nature, such as those on Sivabrāhmaṇas (priests) or artisans or embracing all or any community or section of the resident population. It was thus a medium for a more heterogenous participation than the *Sabha*, *Ur*, or *nagaram* each with its almost unicommunity base, although by its very nature, the agriculturists or representatives of the *Ur*, would be the principal constituents of the Nāḍu. Generally, in the middle ages the participation or willingness of the affected parties was reflected in the decisions or proceedings undertaken by the local agrarian community and the *Nāḍu*, by its composite character, was an apt medium to secure this participant satisfaction.

The recorded evidence dated from Kulōttuṇga III's time to the 16th century, almost till the end of the Vijayanagar era. This was also a period when the *Nāḍu* as an administrative agency or unit was coming into greater prominance progressively, the Urār correspondingly but gradually getting eclipsed.

The Nāṭṭār mainly consisted of the Arayars (or chieftains) and the agriculturists of the several *Ūrs* or townships comprised

in the *Nāḍu.* No specific evidence of the constituents of Valla-nāḍu was forthcoming. But Tiruvarangulam temple was held in reverence by all the surrounding *Nāḍus* as well. Benefactions and grants had been made by the residents of Piränmalainādu[57] Kānādu[58], Tenkavinādu[59] Milalaikūṟṟam[60], Tenpanangāḍu-nāḍu[61], Kilipayyiṟṟūr nāḍu[62] besides the chieftains of Sūraikuḍi[63] and Arantāngi arasu[64] In this respect it could compare favou-rably with another temple - ṭownship held in great reverence, Kuḍumiyāmalai.

The Arayars had also held the temple in special veneration and they solemnly recorded the settlement deeds by which their feuds were ended in the temple and had a selfimposed penalty, for transgression of the terms, to be rendered to the temple. The Arayars besides having the watch and ward duties (*pāḍikkāval*) in return for the share of the produce, could also levy and collect from the artisans levies for adhoc purposes like festivals or assign or donate the proceeds of the house or per capita tax collected and other such levies or by themselves bearing the levies or services.

The *Nāḍu* had been performing revenue and administrative functions themselves through their executive the *Nāṭṭukkaṇakku* or accountant. They had the responsibility to pay in lump the land dues collection in grain and cash and maintain accounts for demand and collection. The State demand on land *kaḍamai, iṟai, rājakaram* for the *Nāḍu* was apportioned among the villages or *Ur* or *Nagarams* comprised therein and other cesses likewise were distributed (*viniyōgam*). They had to ratify or recognise the changes in holdings and mutation of registry. They could fix the share payable by the tenants to the temple and take on themselves the obligation to pay land dues so that the benefit could accrue to the temple. They could draw up deeds of rights and obligations of the respective parties when land grants were made. They were also to extend protection and do police duties and take preventive action against thefts or other anti-social activities so that the tenantry and community might live in peace.

The villages from adjoining *Nāḍus* also sought the services of Vallanāḍu by assigning the *pāḍikkāval* to these Nāṭṭār in later times. They could also permit changes in tenancy and allow the induction of tenants from outside on concessional terms where the villages were depopulated and lands were laid waste.

Still, the royal officials had their authority and influence felt. Bhuvanasingadēvan, the officer under Sēmapillayār in Vīra Pāṇḍya's reign did a number of benefactions to the temple, added shrines, and gifted away jewellery to the deity, and made endowments. He regulated the produce shares payable to the temple, and to the temple servants for superintending harvests and assigned there of a quantum for endowments. He had also instituted services from out of the communal levies due to the State or to the Arayars. He had even powers of levying fines, which he made over to the temple for additional services instituted. Tiruvarangulam temple had benefitted a great deal from the benefactions of a single chieftain like Bhuvanaśingadēvan. But the merchant and the other communities were equally interested in making additional construction like *Maṇḍapas* and *Prākāra*.

If the Nāṭṭār were zealous in adding and maintaining services, the temple was solicitous to them in their hour of dire need and even permitted the pledging of the silver jewellery adorning the deity so that the Nāṭṭār could get their obligations to pay land dues to the rulers discharged. Land levies were undoudtedly exacting, and more so in Vijayanagar times when villages had been deserted and lands were lying waste and resettlements with tenants inducted from without had to be allowed and encouraged. Changes in tenures bringing in more of personal holdings or estates were occurring with the change in rulers and the superimposition of the Nayak chieftaincies, or their assignees. These have been dealt with in another study.

1 PI. 174

2 PI. 176
3 PI. 294
4 PI. 352
5 PI. 364
6 PI. 365
7 PI. 373 - "Surai Vari" has been interpreted by Sri Subbarayalu as perhaps a "war levy" - (p. 40 : Political Geography of Cola country". Perhaps it was a purchase money to escape pillage.
8 PI. 378
9 PI. 385
10 The Colas—Prof. K. A. N. Sastri, Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 207
11 PI. 427; 430
12 PI. 428
13 PI. 435
14 PI. 429
15 Vide PI. 427 supra
16 PI. 1063
17 PI. 431
18 PI. 432
19 PI. 433
20 PI. 434
21 PI. 435
22 PI. 436
23 PI. 437
24 PI. 468
25 PI. 1066
26 PI. 487
27 PI. 488
28 PI. 547
29 PI. 554
30 PI. 567
31 PI. 575
32 PI. 595
33 PI. 617
34 PI. 618
35 PI. 619 On these feuds, pl. also see the study on "Cases civil and criminal".
36 PI. 606

37 PI. 605; 607 — On this case pl. see the study on "the Burden of Land Dues".
38 PI. 643
39 PI. 797
40 PI. 712
41 PI. 728 - The reign of Mallikarjuna Raya's son quoted in the inscription was a patent error. This fell in Krsnadevaraya's time.
42 PI. 738
43 PI. 842
44 PI. 729. The date given in the inscription was not correct; A connected later record (P,I. 733) referred to this transaction as having occurred in Sidhartha year.
45 PI. 733 – "Narasanayakar Kadamai Pirivu vanda ponnukku"– kadan vangi irutta ponnukku".
46 PI. 737
47 PI. 745
48 PI. 746
49 PI. 752 - Please also see pp. 12, 13 of "Kalvettu" - 6th issue. and the study on "Kudumiyamalai" below.
50 PI. 855
51 PI. 1064
52 PI. 1058
53 PI. 1059
54 PI. 1061 & 1065
55 PI. 1069 - 72
56 PI. 898
57 PI. 174
58 PI. 364, 554
59 PI. 428
60 PI. 567
61 PI. 752
62 PI. 729
63 PI. 712
64 PI. 378, 728

Note :

The Annual Report of Epigraphy for 1915 notices six more inscriptions in the temple Nos. 281, 283, 284, 285, 286. and 287, of which one is of the Pandya period *(283)* and the rest are of Vijayanagar Period.

KUDUMIYAMALAI

Kuḍumiyāmalai is a village. about 19 kilometres to the west of Pudukkottai, the headquarters of the district of that name. It is one of the oldest historic Townships in the tract. Its importance can be gleaned from the sheer number, as many as one hundred and twenty inscriptions in the Temple complex. It was situated in the old highway from Uraiyūr-Tanjāvūr to Madurai and was close to Koḍumbālūr, the capital of Irukkuvēḷs which lay only 24 kilometres to the north-west. In earlier inscriptions it was called Tirunalakunṟam. (The sacred Hill of Prosperity, and in later ones the Township was called Sikhānallūr. The later name is explained in a local legend as follows:-

> "A temple priest once gave his sweet-heart the flowers intended for divine worship, and when the Ruler of the place came unexpectedly to the temple, offered him as prasadam the flowers that the lady had worn. The Raja discovered some hair among them, and asked the priest how it got there. To conceal his offence the priest asserted that the God himself had natural hair, at the same time praying that he might not be proved untruthful. His prayer was heard, and a kuḍumi or lock of hair miraculously appeared on the lingam. A small protuberance on the Linga idol is still shown to the worshipper as the kuḍumi that originally appeared to save the priest."

The village had extended all around the hillock, at the foot of which on the east was the temple The temple had grown from the nucleus of a rock-cut shrine dating back to the seventh century. This oldest shrine was called Melakkōvil or Tirumēṟṟaḷi.

On the rock-surface a whole notation in beautiful Pallava-Grantha characters has been inscribed[1] It is ascribed to the time of Mahēndravarma Pallava I (A D. 590-630). But others

consider that there is no definite evidence to support this. This inscription gives the "*Svarāgama*" in catusprahara in the following gramas: (1) *Madhyama*; (2) *Sadja*; (3) *Sāḍva*; (4) *Sādhārita*; (5) *Pancama*; (6) *Kaisikhī Madhyama* ; (7) *Kaisikha*. The colophon reads : The *svarāgamas* were composed by the King who was a Parama Māhēśvara, the disciple of Rudrācārya for the benefit of the students. It is also noted that these could be played on seven and eight (stringed instruments), and "*Parivādinita*" is also added which refers to one variety of the Vīna.[2] This is engraved to the south of the Melākkōvil flanked by two Gaṇēśas of the seventh century. Similar inscriptions in fragments could also be traced in the Tirumayyam rock-cut temple.[3] The rock-cut Siva shrine of Tirumēṟṟaḷi could be one of the early monuments erected after revival of Saivism. Siva was said to be a God revelling in playing Vīṇa (the stringed instrument) and in one of his poses he is depicted as holding the instrument in hand (Viṇādara). The place should have been a centre of culture and much frequented by practitioners and students of music, for this unique musical inscription to be engraved at this place. Doubtless provision should have been made for conducting worship in the shrine, the details of which were not available pertaining to this early period.

Three inscriptions of the reign of Pāṇḍya Saḍayan Māran (A.D. 700-730) constitute the next land mark. In that reign, the Dēvadāna of Tirunalakkunṟam was in Kunṟiyūr nāḍu. Evidently the State dues from the lands in the Township had been already endowed for the Temple services. Parāntaka Adalaiyūr Nādāḻvan alias Kaḍambaneṭṭi had endowed in that reign 7½ Kaḻanju of Tuḷaippon for a lamp to Mādēvan Shrine in Tirumūlattānam. This was to be protected by the Ūrār of Pannanguḍi and Parambaiyūr.[4]

In the 10th year of the reign of another Pāṇḍya two donors Sāttan and Gaṇavati of Nāgankuḍikkāḍu from Nenmalināḍu made a similar deposit of gold for a seven days festival.[5]

These early vestiges of Pre-Pāṇḍya and early Pāṇḍya times take the origin of the temple and the township to the beginnings of the seventh century. It was not until the Imperial Cōḻa times that the continuous epigraphic evidence of the growth of the Temple, and the intense activities connected with the Township commences. We have a considerable number of inscriptions that can be ascribed to one whole century from A.D. 871 to A.D 973, when the Cōḻa Monarchs, Rājakēsari Āditya I (A.D. 871-907), Parakēsari Parāntaka (A.D. 907-55), Rājakēsari Gaṇḍarāditya I (A.D. 949 - 57), and Rājakēsari Sundara Parāntaka II (A.D. 957-73) and Parakēsari Uthama Cōḻa (A.D. 970-85) reigned. The particular inscriptions that could be ascribed to the specific rulers are set out in the footnote.[6]

Inscriptions were dated from the 3rd to 22nd year of Rājakēsarivarman. In the third year, a cavalier (*Kudirai Ammān*) Śandaiyan under Mahīmālaya Irukkuvēḷār endowed 31 cows for the early morning (bath?) service with milk (*siru kāṭṭi sandhi Pāl-āḍiaruḷa*) and for milk and other offerings (*Ilayamirdhu*) at the three sandhi services.[7] In the 10th year, Naṇban Tuṇaiyan of Kuttākuḍi in Kunriyūrnāḍu gave 7½ *kaḻanju* of *Tuḷaippon* for a lamp service.[8] The endowments of the third and 10th year were to be protected by the Panmahēsvaras.

Two years later,. 2½ *kaḻanju pon* were deposited for a lamp service by Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyar's wife (*Maṇavāṭṭi*) Nangaiyār Nangai Dayānidhiyār. The lamp service so endowed was for the benefit of the daughter of Muttarayar Nambi Mānatongalār-by name Nangai Vikramakēsariyār.[9] Tāliyārūran deposited 2 *kaḻanju*[9] of *Tuḷaippon* for a lamp to be lit at day time. In the same year another lamp service was instituted by Pullanguḍi Eṭṭikuḷavan or Eṭṭi who deposited 40 *kaḻanju*.[10]

In the 22nd year Tiru-Vaikāḍan had deposited gold for a lamp service for the merit of one Dēvaki Kaṇṇan to be conducted in the western shrine, and through Grāmi Irāgan who was entrusted with the amount 1 *nāḻi* of ghee per month was to be delivered.[11] There was another such endowment[12] by Kausiyan Perumāḷ and a third 4 *kaḻanju* for and on behalf of Sēndan Nakkan[13] to be burnt at day time.

The next bunch of records relate to the Cōḻa Parakēsarivarman

from the[14] 3rd regnal year to 38th[15] year. In the 3rd year 7½ *kalanju* were deposited by Pulivalam Arangan Kalvan.[16] In the 6th year,[17] 7 *kalanju* of *Tulaippon* were deposited by Taliaruran of Kodumbalur in Urattur Kurram. Was this donor identical with the one who made a similar endowment in the 20th year of Rajakesarivarman? (PI 31)

In the 7th year of Cola . . . ripanmar, Sattam Pidari deposited 5 *kalanju* for rice, *nali* ghee, etc. for offering to Sri Tirumerrali Mahadevar as '*Salaiyuttu*' and for '*Sivikam*', to be later distributed to Mahesvaras?[18]

Additional endowments were made as below :

Regnal year	*Grant*	*Amount*	*Donor*
Parakesari 6th year	Lamp service for which a lamp was also donated. (Nilai-vilakku)	7 *kalanju*	Sembiyan Irukkuvelar's queen and daughter of Muttarayar, Varagunatti.[19]
6th year	Lamp service	7 *kalanju*	Sendan of Siruganallur[20]
6th year	Evening lamp-string (Sothimalai)	7½ *kalanju*	Nakkiran Manikkam[21]
7th year	1 lamp	4 *kalanju Tulapipon*	For the benefit of Kannan Kadan by his mother Nakkan Pulliyar[22]

The endowments for lamp service were made both in cows and in cash. The temple could not safeguard the donated cows from thefts or cattle lifting and even cattle belonging to the temple were not safe (Kuduthar Kudutta Pasu Kallikolla Kakkamattadu virru konda pon). In the 6th year they sold the cows, and obtained the sale proceeds in gold which were deposited with shepherds, and others on condition of the stipulated quantity of ghee to be delivered for lamp-service or for food-offerings,[23]

In the 8th year, the residents of an ur (name lost) in Ollaiyur Kurram took 7½ *kalanju* and one Kari Nagar took 1 *pon* - in all 8½, against which they had to measure out nali ghee per *kalanju*[24]. The following were among the details of the persons who took the gold and undertook to measure out ghee,

Regnal year	*To whom given*	*Rate*	*Amount in kalanju*	*Remarks*
—	—	1 *kalanju* pon = 1 *nāli* ghee per month	7	Ollaiyūr Kūrram Kīlattāniyam Kilavan-(reading the inscription)
8th year	Amar Adakki of the same place[25]	-do-	½	—
	A native of Siva-Kēsari-Caturvēdi (mangalam)	—	—	—
8th year	Kādan Kumaran	1 *kalanju* pon = 1 *nāli* ghee per month	2	to the dictation of Ollaiyūr Kilavan[26]
	Name lost	-do-	1	—
	Māran Amaradakki of the same place	-do-	½	—
	Tiraiyan Kamban or Tilayan Kambal[27]	-do-	½	—
	Sivakēsari Caturvēdi Kandan	-do-	1	—
	Sīrangan of the same place (Kāma Sārangan)[28]	-do-	2	—
	Kanavan (Kalavan) Sēndan Kallān of the same place	-do-	1	—
	Anbāna (Arayān) Perumāl of the same place	-do-	½	—
	Ponnan Vēlan (Vellai . .) *alias* Kandamatangan of the same place	-do-	1	—
	. . . . havenan of the same place	-do-	½	—

The total amount so distributed was stated to be 14 *Kalanju* against which 14 *nālis* of ghee were to be delivered per month.

In the 10th year, 7½ *kalanju* of gold was donated[29] by Nangai Nan (Nal or Nala) dēviyār, wife of Sembiyan Irrukkuvēlār identical with

Bhūti Parāntaka son of Bhūti Vikramakēsari. In the same year the temple treasury distributed 7½ *kalanju* of gold to the residents of Nerinjikkudi in Ollaiyūr Kūrram.

Kaṇakku Ennai..................	2	*kalanju*
Kulattugai Sēndan..............	1½	„
Kulattugan Katti................	1	„
Kulattugan Pirān................	1	„
Kilavan Maravan...............	2	„
Total ...	7½	„

They were all to measure ghee at 1 *nāli* per month per *kalanju*[30]

Three years later, Ēragangan of Vēriyankudi in Urathūr kūrram deposited 7 *kalanju* of gold of *tulaippon* for a lamp service.[31]

The temple had thus received gold deposits at the rate of 7½ or 7 *kalanju* of *tulaippon* for each lamp-service and it, in its turn, distributed them to various residents of adjoining townships to deliver ghee at *nāli* per month per *kalanju.* They preferred endowments in gold or cash to cows, as they could not protect the latter from cattle-lifters, and the cows they had received were sold and the proceeds were distributed likewise against ghee undertaken to be delivered. Mothers or family members instituted lamps for the merit of their sons or relatives deceased or alive. Often the gold was left with members of one family or several residents of the same village.

In the 14th year, Sadayan Kalacci of Pambaiyūr deposited 5 *kalanju* of gold from the interest of which 15 māhēśvaras were to be fed on the seven days of Māśi maham festival for the Tirumērrali-perumānadigal. This charity was for the merit of Sadaiyan Nambi.[32] A lamp with stand, and 7 *kalanju* of gold for maintaining it was gifted by Sankaran Kunrapolān, a resident of Malainādu[33] who endowed another lamp in the 16th year.[34] A land also seems to have been granted for making the lamp (P.I. 58). In the 16th year, one Vēdiyan Kudisigan endowed 7 *kalanju.*[35] 7½ *kalanju*, the standard deposit, was also made in the 20th year again by Arangankalavan of Pulivalam in Uraiyūr Kūrram.[36] One other grant of 7 *kalanju* was by 'Ayattiyadēva Pallavarayan' and with that amount a land growing paddy irrigated by a sluice was purchased.[37]

A village grant, one of the earliest, perhaps, was made in the 21st year[38] by Madurāntaka Irukkuvēl *alias* Ādittan Vikramakēsari who was identified as Bhūti Vikramakēsari the builder of Mūvarkōil in Koḍumbāḷūr. This was Muṇainariyār Marudanguḍi in Kunṟiyūr nāḍu including appurtenances, where the iguana and the tortoise crawl, the earth, and sandy lands and trees yielding in many forms, the taxes on weavers (*Tari Taragu*) and the levy on goldsmiths (*Taṭṭār-pāṭṭam*), included. The income therefrom was to meet the food-offerings and the ingredients therefor for the deity, to pay paddy for the *yōgis* who conduct worship, and it was to be measured by the same measure by which land dues were measured - in all 30 *mukkuruṇis*. A servant to the temple (Dēvakuḍi) also was gifted by name Manrāḍi (shepherd?) Piran Taniyan. Or alternatively, Piran Taniyan could be said to be the tenant holding the land under the *Dēvadāna* tenure. This village was described as the village for Tiruccennaḍai (food-offerings) for the temple.[39] One more endowment of 7 *kaḻanju* was realised by sale proceeds of 5 *kaḻanju* and adding 2 *kaḻanju* from temple gold for supplying *uḻakku* ghee per day.[39A] An undated inscription recorded 5 *kaḻanju* of gold gifted by Madurāntaka Irukkuvēḷār (of Koḍumbāḷūr, presumably) were added to 2 *kaḻanju* of Temple gold to make 7 *kaḻanju* against which 1 *uḻakku* of ghee was to be measured to the temple daily.[40]

A permanent lamp and *kaḻanju* of gold were endowed by Ullāṟan Seruviḍai Arunjikai[41] and 7½ *kaḻanju* by a resident, Kāḍangi by name, of Parambaiyūr[42] both in the 21st year. (The reading in South Indian Inscriptions vol. XIX gives the name of the village as Pāmbayūr).

In the 22nd year of the ruler whose name was lost, provision was made by Sēvaiyār Paṭṭam Paḍāri *alias* Pāṇḍiyadiyarasi, a noblewoman by depositing 10 *kaḻanju* gold for feeding 20 Brahmins on each of the seven days of festival conducted in connection with Panguni Uttiram. They were to be fed with rice, curd, and also offered nuts. For feeding the Mahēsvarars, on a similar provision of *Nāḻi Uri* rice, 3 *āḻākku* of curd, and 1 curry and the expenses thereon and for the potters(?) (Vētkōvar) the cooks and servers (*aḍuvār*) and firewood, an endowment was made of 15 *kaḻanju pon.*[43]

Additional lamp services were also instituted in the 23rd year:

Vaḷavan Poraiyan *alias* Aranjirai
Bhaṭāran of Nīrpaḻani in Urathūr Kūṟṟam.[44] 7 *kaḻanju*
For the merit of Mannaikkuḍi Viḻupperayar Vēḷān Pugaḻan,
endowment by his mother (Uḍaiyāḻ) Uḍaiyān Kalimathi.[45] 7 *kalanju*
Mayilai Tiṇḍan *alias* Avantīya Kōpapallavaraiyar of
Pudukkuḍi in Urattūr Kūṟṟam in the 32nd year.[46] 7 *kaḻanju*
to burn a lamp day and night

Similar endowment by a native of Perunkūṟṟakuḍi in Kūḍalūr nāḍu Arinjirai (Āḷi) and another of the same village by name Poduva Eccilmaṇḍai were also made in or about[47] 38th year and four priests undertook to maintain the lamps.[48] Further lamp service was instituted by a donor a Brāhmana Kavesiya Ceṭṭi, Sirikaṇḍar of a Brahmadēsam for which he endowed 7 *kaḻanju*.[49]

In the reign of Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-55) special interest seems to have been evinced by his eldest son, Rājāditya *alias* Kōdaṇḍarāman (who later died in the battle at Takkōlam) and his palace servants, the latter perhaps wishing him success in the expeditions undertaken in the Pāṇḍya country. In the 15th year lamp-services were instituted by a woman-servant in the kitchen of Prince Kōdaṇḍa (rāman) for which she endowed 7½ *kaḻanju*. Her name was Kuḍiyan Kāḍukān of Mangalavāśal in Panṟiyūrnāḍu.[50] Another, who prepared (*sāndu* i.e :) sandal paste, for the prince, Munaippāḍi Adiyaraimangalattu Olai Vīrattān, gifted 3 *kaḻanju tuḷaippon* for the same purpose.[51] The Prince himself, the son of the Cōḻa emperor, Sri Parāntakar gave 15 *kaḻanju* for 2 lamps to be burnt. This endowment was entrusted to the ūrār of Punnanguḍi.[52]

In the same year lamp services were instituted by the following:[53] Sinjal Kiḻavaṉ Kuliyanāccan *alias* Arikulānta Vāraṇa Pērarayan of Idayaḷa Nāḍu—7 *kaḻanju* for 1 lamp, Nakkan Sankaran of Vaḷḷiyūr in Nallūr Nāḍu—7 *kaḻanju* for 1 lamp

Unlike the endowment by the prince Kōdaṇḍarāman, all others were under the protection of the Māhēśvaras.

This flush of records of the 15th year (A.D. 921-2) would synchronise with the second stage of the war waged by Parāntaka against the Pāṇḍyas.[54] Kōdaṇḍarāma, the Prince, perhaps also took an active part in it, and could have inspired the imagery of Sangrāma Rāghava fancied in the Udayēndram plates of Pṛthvīpati describing this

engagement. Some lamps instituted for the merit of the deceased might be for those who were killed in the battles.

In the 15th year of Parakēsari Varma, 8 *kaḻanju* of gold were deposited by a Brahmin, of Ātrēyagōtra of Siru Sunaiyūr, for his own and his mother's merit, for burning a lamp. Another deposit of two *kaḻanju* was made for feeding five Brahmins on the seven days of the Panguni Uttiram (festival) and a third deposit for offering once a month 2 *nāḻi* of rice, 1 *piḍi* ghee and 1 *uri* of curds.[55]

In the 16th year (A.D. 922-23) Ālālaricilār Kumaran of Koḍungaḷūr in Malaināḍu (Cēra country) endowed gold for burning a lamp and presented a lamp stand (Nilaiviḷakku).[56]

An interesting record of the 33rd year (of Parāntaka I) Parakēsarivarman (copied later) stated that Parāntakan Kunjaramallan alias Vīra Cōḻa Iḷangōvēḷān while he was setting out to ravage Īḻam (Sri Lanka) ("*Īḷameriyap-pōginrān*") dedicated 1 *vēli* of land in Kīḻmaṇanallur for feeding '*yōgiyar*' (ascetics or priests) and for food offerings at the shrine at Kuḍumiyāmalai.[57]

This could perhaps, refer to the unsuccessful expedition to Sri Lanka taken in the last years of Parāntaka I.[58] It was a common practice to make endowments to the temple and for charitable purposes when one proceeded on expedition, or on a long distance travel.

There appears to be no record noticed of the reign of Rājarāja I. But in the 16th year of Rājēndra I, the land dues (*Iṛai*) of several villages were granted to the temple for its upkeep and services (*nivandam*).[59] The villages so granted were the following:

Iluppaikuḍi	Land dues in gold 20 (*pon*) and odd *kaḻanju* and 3 *manjāḍi*.
Eḍalaikuḍi } 'Ilamaganparṛu' } and	1 *kaḷanju*, *manjāḍi*.
Muḍa(val)kuḍi	. . . . . .

The royal officials who authenticated the grant were the following:

Dēvan *alias* Uttama cōḻa mārāyan.

Tirumandira Ōlaināyagam Gangaikoṇḍān

Uyyakoṇḍavaḷanāḍu Tiruvaḻundūr nāṭṭu Tulār uḍaiyān

Nārāyaṇan Ka . . . nāgan,

Kāṇḍamārāyan Rājarājan *alias* Rājarāja Brahmārāyan,

Kōvan Āccan *alias* Gangai . . . . .
It was ordered to be incorporated by Uyyakkoṇḍa Vaḷanāṭṭu Veṇṇarāyar. The officials of the Uḍankūṭṭam (the corps of officials on personal attendance with the King), Mummuḍi Cōḻa Maṇḍalam Ānāriyotta . . . . cōḻa mūvēndavēḷān, and several Adikāris and Puravari-Tiṇaikkaḷam Kaṇkāṇi, and Puravari officials, among others, figure in the document.

Another endowment, inscribed in continuation, referred to a gift of 96 goats for lamp service by a brother of the mistress (*Bhōgiyār*) Ambalakkūttiyār, by name, of one Vēḷār of Uṛattūr nāḍu[60] (?) for her merit.

In A.D. 1105-1106 (36th year of Kulōttunga I) the nāṭṭār of Iraṭṭappāḍi koṇḍa-Cōḻa Vaḷanāḍu resolved[61] that two Brahmins of the Brahmadēya village Kāppukuḍi in the same nāḍu, by name Kirānjimalaikkiniya-ninṛān Sahasran, and Vēdakōmpuram Aruḷāḷa Sahasran shall be the collecting agents from the 36th year for the brokerage for the betel that is brought into the nāḍu, and for the betel service for the deity they shall deliver 30,000 nuts, and 750 bundles of betel per year. The brokers and their descendants shall have this obligation discharged. This was to be maintained and established by the Nāṭṭār and the Mūnṛupaḍai Poṛkōyil Kaikkōḷar a weaver-soldiery, and the forces of the nāḍu by name Paḻiyili Annūṛṛuvar.

Sometime later, besides the above two here named as Tirumalai, and Aruḷāḷar, they added two more, Damōdaran Śrī Kṛśṇan and Siruttoṇḍanambi and divided the brokerage equally, and stipulated that the latter shall reside in Tirunalakkunṛam and do the service. This condition of taking residence in the Township was added because the earlier two were, perhaps, not and that would be inconducive to efficient service. The Brahmin agents appear to be of Vaisṇavite persuasion but that did not prevent their nomination to collect and remit the proceeds to the Siva Shrine.

They added one more obligation on the brokers to pay at 5 *dramam* for 12 months, i.e., 60 dramams in a year, for applying oil or sandal for the deities (Tirumeyppūccu) from the 48th year (A.D. 1118).

As the levies were to be collected on the betel received within the nāḍu the entire Nāṭṭār and the soldiery joined together and gave the right of brokerage enjoining on the agents the obligations which were

enlarged and two service holders were added subsequently.

In the 11th year of Rājarāja II (A.D. 1156-57), the Arayan of the nāḍu (*Nāṭṭusār*) Rājendra *alias* Kulōttungacōḻa Kaḍambarāyan had endowed two lamps. To maintain them with *uri* ghee to be measured by Kēraḷāntakan, a measure, he purchased the occupied lands (*Kuḍikkāḍu*) in Peṟṟānēri and Piḍāranēri from the temple for 20 *pon*. The temple had been earlier sold these lands in the 13th year of Vikrama Cōḻa (AD 1131) by the ūrār of Punnanguḍi, themselves undertaking to pay the land dues (Iṟai) and bear the services of the tenantry (*kuḍimai*) to the royal officers. In lieu of the sale price of 20 *pon* the vendee tendered 12 buffaloes which were to be maintained with the lands purchased and endowed, and this was undertaken by four Siva Brāhmanas (priests) of the temple, of Bhāradvāja Gōtra-Māṟan Kunṟan Sūṟṟi Kunṟan, Ambalakkūttan Muḍivilāmudal, Tirumāṇi Tiru-vay[62]....

Five years later, (AD 1162) a native of Sikhānallūr, Munaiyil-ādittan Kōthaṇḍan purchased from the Siva Brahmaṇas of the temple a tank which got the seepage water (ūrāl) and an alkaline unyielding land (*viḷayā veṇkaḷar*) two *mā* in extent (66 cents) for 20 current *good-kāśu*. They were the service-tenure lands of the priests (Mānabhōgam). The seepage tank had the water-spread of two tanks to its east, and a third to the north and the lands were reclaimed by the vendee. With the yield therefrom a festival was to be conducted, and the Mahēśvaras were to be fed at a maṭha.[63]

The next bunch of records pertain to the reign of Cōḻa Kulōttunga, who could not be identified. From a copy of the record of the 12th year of Kulōttunga, it was seen that Sōlaimanattuḷḷān *alias* Vaḷavan Pallavadaraiyan acquired as Kuḍinīngādēvadāna an *ēmbal* (rain-fed tank and ayacut) from the ūrār of Visalūr. From the boundary description it could be inferred an endowment had existed for a festival to be conducted in the month of Mārgaḻi.[64] This was originally engraved in the maṇḍapa named after Cēdiyarāyan.

In the 14th year, Oḷi Vēḷān Sāttan of Kiḻiyūr had a scuffle with one Perumbayan Arangan *alias* Muppēruḍaiyān of Annavāyil Kūṟṟam (in Iraṭṭāppaḍi-Koṇḍa Cōḻa Vaḷanāḍu) in which the latter had presumably died. In propitiation for him Sāttan endowed 42 sheep for 3 sandhi lamps, and the charity was to be protected by the Panmāhēs-varas.[65] In the same inscription a reference was made to another

donor Veḷḷi Mādēvan Bhaṭṭan of Rājakēsari puram in Eyir-nāḍu in Pāṇḍikulāsani - Vaḷanāḍu (identified as Rājagiri-Elangāḍu).[66]

Next year, an endowment was made by a dancing girl of the Township (*Sāntikkūttu*) by name Tirukkoḍungunṟam-uḍaiyāḷ Nāccimalai-āḻvi, daughter of Periya-nāttāccāryan as *Kuḍiningādēva-dānam.* She had purchased from the ūrār of Vīsalūr 10 *mā* of yielding wet lands by name Alaivayal. This was to the east of the boundaries of Sikhānallūr village. She agreed to pay to the temple 6 kalam per *mā* by Kēraḷāntakan measure and also pay the *antarāya* (in cash) and *Kīḻiṟai*-included *Kuḍimai* (the obligations of tenancy) as rendered by the adjoining tenants holding *Dēvadāna* lands. The paddy so delivered was to be utilised for the annual maintenance and festival conducted in the Maṇḍapa called Aḻagiya Sēman Tiruveḍuttukkaṭṭi and the residual amount if any, would be remitted to the Temple treasury.[67]

In the 18th year and 195th day of Tribhuvana Cakravarti Kulōttunga-Cōḻa, the Chief (Arayan) of the Urattūr Kūṟṟam, Tannan Edirilāpperumāḷ *alias* Kulōttunga Cōḻa Kaḍambarāyan endowed a land in Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷa-Caturvēdimangalam *alias* Śrī Kaidavam Kaidavan (identical with Kaḍavan-paṭṭi village no. 141) measuring 2 *mā* in extent which were to be cultivated and *Iṟai* and *kuḍimai* etc., as stipulated and in vogue in the village would have to be rendered by Nārpatteṇṇāyira-Nambi on *Kuḍininga Dēvadāna* tenure.[68]

In the 20th year (a copy of which had been made) Kaikkōḷan Bhaṭṭan Tiruvuḍaiyān *alias* Kaṇḍra - māṇikkappallavaraiyan *alias* Anantarāman provided for two festivals one in Māśi, and another in Panguni, besides feeding Mahēsvaras in a maṭha called Kōnāḍan Maṭha. The lands were unyielding alkaline lands in Iluppaikkuḍi and over-grown with scrub-jungle trees and measured over 2 *mā.* He paid 1 *kāśu* to the temple, to render the land tax-free, and distributed ½ *mā* for the person who cleaned and ran the maṭham, and 1 *kāṇi* (½*mā*) for the potter who supplied the pots, and another 1 *kāṇi* for the supplier of fire-wood, and ½ *mā* for maintaining the tank. With the yield from the residual extent available for cultivation the two festivals and feeding the devotees were to be undertaken.[69]

In the 34th year (A D. 1212) and 51st day, by a royal order Kulōttunga III granted from the 30th year, *Paśāṇam* 4 *vēlis* of land in

Vīsalūr and in Kīḻmaṇanallūr 4 *vēlis* (excluding the earlier grants) as *Dēvadāna iṟaiyili*, including the *Antarāyam*, *Pāsippāṭṭam*, and all levies in the entire village (*Ūraḍangalum*) for provisioning the temple.

The royal officers who signed the order and attested it were:– Tirumandira ōlai Rājēndra Cōḻa mūvēndavēḷār Villavaraiyan attested the royal command. (*'Ippaḍi Tiruvāymōḻincaruḷinār'*) Siddarāyan and others, Vāṇādarāyan and Toṇḍaimān, also endorsed the order.[70]

Another copy made in the third year of Sundarapāṇḍya was taken from the Davana maṇḍapa on the north *jagati* and *kumudam*, while a new *maṇḍapa* was being erected. This grant was in the 35th year of Kulōttunga Cōḻa by the soldiery, Mūnṟu Paḍai Kaikkōḷas in Irattap-pāḍi Koṇḍa Cōḻa Vaḷanāḍu. The levy of 25 *kāsu* for Tiruppāvāḍai from the dēvadāna village of the temple was to be collected by the accountants for the garrison every year, and they were to defray the expenses for three festival days in the months of Māṟgaḻi, Māsi and Panguṇi. Also provision was made at the rate of 2 *tūṇi* 5 *nāḷi* of paddy per day accounted for as follows:[71]

They had installed two deities, Kaikōḷa Nāyagar and Tambirāṭṭi and for food-offerings, per day, per *sandhi* for rice: 4 *nāḷi* for 3 *sandis* = 1 *tūni* and 4 *nāḻi* at 2 *nāḻi* of rice per *sandi* for goddess. = 6 *nāḻi*. Thus per day: *Padakku* and *two nāḻi* or 5 *kuruṇi* 5 *nāḻi* (in paddy) at $\frac{2}{5}$ paddy for recovery of rice.

for curries and pepper and ghee and betel :	In paddy:	1 *kuruṇi*	1 *nāḻi*
Midday 3 *sandi* (pot rice) 2	,,	,,	3 *nāḻi*
For potters per day	,,	nil	2 *nāḻi*
For supplier of firewood	,,	nil	2 *nāḻi*
		2 *tūni*	5 *nāḻi*

The recovery rate of rice from paddy was worked out at two-fifth.

This soldiery grantors could be identical with the soldiery referred to in the record of A.D. 1105/1106, when brokerage from betel was assigned. If the ruler could be surmised to be Kulottunga I, the grant could be dated as A.D. 1105. If it referred to the third ruler of

that name it could be dated as A.D. 1213.

One of the last recorded endowment in the reign was in the 45th year by Kāraiyūr Vēlān Ponnan *alias* Sembiyan Kōnāṭṭu Vēlān. He provided for a lamp to burn day and night and left with four Śiva Brahmanas (all of Bhāradvāja Gōtra) 96 goats. Their names were Kuruvaḍi Teṛṛi, Kunṛan Dēvan, Sūṛṛi Kunṛan, and Kōyil Mādan and others of their families. They were to measure daily *uḻakku* ghee by the Kēraḷāntakan measure. A permanent lamp weighing 40 *tarā niṛai*, was also presented by him

Another endowment was by Iḍaiyāṛṛūr Vēlān Poṛkāman *alias* Uttama Cōḻa Mūvēnda Vēlān in the form of land in Iluppaikkuḍi, a Dēvadāna village in its eastern fields. It was lying waste, and saline and hence was acquired by him paying 3/4 *kāśu*. He reclaimed it into a yielding wet land, and it measured 4 *mā*. The same Siva-Brāhmanas named above were to take possession of the land and tender 1 *uḻakku* of ghee per day by the same measure. The lamp he presented weighed 50 *Tarā-nirai*[72].

A similar lamp (including fillings within) (*utkaru*) 50 *tarā-nirai* in weight was presented by Naṛṛan Periyān *alias* Vīramaḻagiya Pallavarāyan, one of the Agambaḍi Maṛamudalis of the Arayan Tannan Edirilāpperumāḷ *alias* Kulōttunga Kaḍambarāyan in the 5th year of Rājarāja (III ?) the Arayan of the Nāḍu. He left 96 sheep with the Siva-Brāhmanas, and another endowment of 48 sheep and 13 cows.[73]

Three years later, a confidant (*aṇukki*) of the same Arayan, Sonda Tāyilum Nallān purchased from the temple a land for 50 *kāśu* and excavated a pond and named it as Umayāṇḍi Ūraṇi.[74] for the merit of one Sankaran.

In the 15th year of Rājarāja dēva, the ūrār of Mēlmaṇanallūr sold in auction a holding (Kuḍikkāḍu) to the north of the village. Vēḷāṇ Kōthaṇḍan of Sikhānallūr purchased it for 25 *naṛkāsu* and endowed it as a Dēvadāna to the temple of Vikrama Cōḻīsvara-muḍaiyār temple in Mēlmaṇanallūr. The ūrār were to pay to the royal officials the land-dues (*Iṛai*) and all other levies[75] Vēḷār Kōthaṇḍan thereupon as the vendee-holder having the first right gave it as kuḍinīngā-dēvadāna to Kōvan Cōḻan (*Munpaṛṛāna*) who was to enjoy the lands after paying the *Kīḻirai* i. e. the portion of land dues paid in cash on

top of the land dues - *kadamai*), to the temple.[76]

Vēlān Kōthandan had also made a few more charities in his native village of Sikkānallūr.[77]

He had purchased a field, and the full yield from cultivation (*murrūttu*) was to be utilised for food-offerings on a new year day (*Tiruppuduyidu*) for Tirunalakunramudaiyār or on renovation. The land was to be cultivated by Kannappan Kōran Udaiyān and others measuring ½ *kāni* of land.

He reclaimed *mā kāni* land in extant as *Amāvāsipuram* (for a new moon day service) in the same shrine. From the yield a *pudukku* of rice and condiments were to be supplied.

He also acquired a garden land to the north of the river (Vellār) from Panman Maḻavan and others and endowed it for feeding (the devotees or Māhēśvaras) in the Munbahan Tirumadam.

Another endowment for the Panguni festival when Kaikōlanāyagar was to be annointed with oil was in Vēlānēri, a land called Kōthanda Vayakkal (named after himself) measuring ½ *mā* arai-kāni held by one Virayādān Ulagamundān of Sikhānallūr against which 1 *kalam* of rice, and other condiments were to be offered to the deity. Kaikōlanāyagar was apparently the deity installed by the weaver's regiments in Kulōttunga Cōḻa's reign.[78]

In the 16th year and 266th day, a royal order was issued by Parakēsari Rājarāja, whose queen was Bhuvanamuḻududaiyāl (Rājarāja III A.D. 1233) by which in Puduvūr in Kōnādu *alias* Irattapādikonda Cōḻa Valanādu Kunru-sūḻnādu, 10 *velis* of land were ordered to be freed from land-dues from the 11th year Paśānam.

The royal order was signed by *Puravuvari sīkāna-Nayakam* (*Sic*) Paḻayanūrudaiyān. Tondaimān, *Puravarisikāna* (*Sic*) Mukavadam Nerkunramaḻa(k)iyān and another officer of the same category and Mukavetti Magadamangalamudaiyān.[79]

One more record of the 15th year of Rājarāja (unidentified), referred to Madurāntaka Ilangō(vēlār), a Commander - in - chief (Sēnāpati) of Kodumbālūr in Urattūr Kūrram.[80]

The tract had passed into the hands of the Pāndya rulers of "the second Empire" after the decline of the Cōḻās. During this period remodelling of, and extensions to the temple were undertaken on a large scale. Kāngēyan, a chieftain under the Pāndya Māravarman

Sundara I, and Kāḷingarāyar, a nobleman under Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya in the latter half of the 13th century were particularly instrumental for such works, and for instituting a number of services, and also grants of land.

The full name of Kāngeyarāya was Nambi Ponnambalakūttan Uḍayār of Āṟṟūr in Cōla-Pāṇḍya Vaḷanāḍu. He acquired for *paḻankāśu* 2½ a parcel of dry land from the holders of Sikhānallūr, namely Tiruvalan Cōḻa-mūvēndavēḷān, Tiruvuḍaiyān Kōthaṇḍan, Sundan Koḻundan, Sundan Kari, Nambi Koḻundu, Nambi Panman, Ponnan Oṇṟāyiramuḍaiyān. Evidently, in dry lands enjoyment was common and the holding was joint, even if it be a small parcel of land.[81]

Kangeyarāyar also rebuilt the temple, enlarged (*Perukkac ceyya*) the structure and widened the entrance, after acquiring(?) or expanding (Vāngi) the entrance to the second prākāra of the temple.[82] In doing so he took care to make copies and reengrave the inscriptions of earlier times.[83] A maṇḍapa, apparently built by him in the temple was named after him.[84]

In the 13th year of Māravarman Sundara (A.D.1229) on a Monday in Makara (January-February) month, the Nāḍu of Kōnāḍu, the Nagara the Grāmas, Vanniyar, and, (*Paḍaipaṟṟu*) garrison-townships, all met in full and agreed among themselves, and gave a deed of entitlement to the Māheśvaras, the priests, the temple executives, and the temple accountants in the following terms: They resolved to levy *per capita* on all the holders of land in all the townships within a circle (of a circumference) of 24 *kādam*[85] (24 *Kādavaṭṭagai*) in every village in the Nadu at the rates below:

For Brahmanas.........Ceṭṭies, Veḷḷāḷas; per year per head:	1/2 *paṇam*
For minors (Iḷamayār)	1/4 ,,
For garrison township	1/4 ,,
For Taṇḍigal (revenue or collecting agents) and for remaining others and cultivating tenants	1/8 ,,
Paṟayar and Paḷḷar	1/8 ,,

The Thānattār and the Vairāgis were authorised to collect this levy in every succeeding year and cause the repairs and renovations to be done. Should any refuse to tender the levy, they might seize the copper

vessels and sack the earthen vessels and recover the amount. Should any speak in excess or in less of the specific terms, they shall suffer the visitations on *Nāṭṭu drōhi* (the enemies of the nāḍu and Siva) and *Siva drōhi* and shall be responsible for the liabilities thereunder.[85]

This, then, was a collective action of all the residents and constituents of the different varieties of Townships that existed in the territorial division of the Nāḍu. A levy was made on all as agreed among themselves. The rates reflected the social grading, and perhaps the differential capabilities of the constituents to bear. Regard seems to have been paid to the social and public functions each group performed in consideration of which the rates were suitably reduced. The levy was voluntary, but had the sanctions of force and distraint in case of default.

Kāngēyarāyan had also exercised the powers of the ruler in granting a land in Marungūr, which was reported to be unoccupied *(Parrili)* to the Goddess' shrine of Tirukkāmakōṭṭa-nācciyār Āḷuḍaiya nācciyār. But on the successor-in-title showing his document of title by which he had acquired the land from the children of the original holder, Kāngēyar modified the content of the grant, restricting it to the Kaḍamai (dues to the state) from the land to the Temple, and allowing the lawful claimant to enjoy the occupancy tenancy (*Kārāṇmai*) rights, from the 10th year of the reign of Sundara Pandya.[86]

Three years later, this Marungūr was said to have been sold as a holding (*Kāṇi*) to Ponnambalavan Vuyyavandaperumāḷ *alias* Kāngēyan. But Tiruccirapaḷḷi Uḍayān Jayatungarāyan, a weaver of the village, had purchased it and had possession and enjoyment (*anubhavittu varugira*). Presumably the person might be the same as the earlier claimant. The Nāṭṭār and the Thānathār of the temple stipulated that from the 16th regnal year this occupant shall pay towards the capital for the construction works for the Gōpura, 3 *accu*, and for *Kaḍamai* and the apportioned obligations (viniyogam) 8 *kalams* of paddy per *ma*, and also the *kīḻirai*, i.e: the payment in cash supplementing the *Kaḍamai*. For *āḍi kuṟuvai* or summer crop, the rate shall be one half thereof.[87] In the 28th year of Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara this Chieftain, Kāngēyarāyan declared the following lands as *Kuḍinīngā dēvadāna* and assigned the

proceeds for defraying the expenses of the Goddess Āḷuḍaianācciyār. The lands were in Kaidavam *alias* Aḻagiya-maṇavāḷa caturvēdimangalam and were the holding of Srīrāma Bhaṭṭar and his brother Aḻagiya-maṇavāḷa Bhaṭṭar and consisted of several parcels aggregating 8 *mā* Mukkāṇiaraikkāṇi. The *kīḻiṟai*, *Pisānam*, *Siṟu-kōḍai* (i. e: main crop, early summer crop) and the Kaḍamai on the stipulated terms were assigned to the Shrine. Two others whose names were extant who attested the grant were Mūvēndavēḷār and Cēdiyarāyan.[88]

Kāngēyarāyan also granted a whole village Marungūr with wet, dry tanks, water-spread, *natham* and other appurtenances, changing the erstwhile holders, and the old name, but including *Kārāṇmai*, *Mīyātci* etc., as a grant for the requisite provisions and dress for the Goddess in Tirukkāmakōṭṭam in the temple, and also for the sandal paste offerings on the festival days to the Goddess, Āḷuḍaiyār.[89] He ordered that 25 *accu* which were till then realised as *antarāyam* from the *Thānathār* of the temple be remitted.[90]

This evidence would attest Kāngēyarāyan, the Chieftain was long-lived during the reign of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya and even later. He was specially devoted to the Goddess Āḷuḍaiyār, the Kāmakōṭṭa Nācciyār in this temple. He was also responsible for a number of extensions, and addition of the second Gōpura to the temple. He was considerate enough to direct and himself read out the earlier epigraphs to be copied. We owe to him some of the inscriptions of the time of Cōḻa Parāntaka and Kulōttunga Cōḻa recopied in the temple.

This period also witnessed a number of festivals instituted additionally. In the (7th) year of Sundara Pāṇḍya, Dēvan Kiḻavan *alias* Cōḻa divākara mūvēnda-vēḷār of Kāṟaiyūr in Tenkōnāḍu wanted to raise a garden for the deity. The Nāṭṭār and the Temple authorities located a dry land, which had belonged to the temple on the northern bank of river Veḷḷār, and to the east of a garden belonging to the deity. They sold 320 *kuḻi* for 1260 current good *kāśu* and from the proceeds of which they were to procure the clothing required for the deity.

The signatories on behalf of the vendors were:

Nambu Seivān

Karuṇālayappiḷḷai *alias* Tiruman-poliya ninrān

Uḍayān Nambiyāṇḍān *alias* Vaḷavadarayan

Serundivanapperumāḷ
Anbāṇḍār
Tirumunaippāḍi Nambi
The Temple Priest Edirili Cōḻa bhaṭṭan
Temple accountant Periya Nāṭṭup piriyan
Accountant of the Nāḍu : Kunṛi śūḻnāṭṭu-vēḷān
Accountant of Kaikōlās-Kuḍukkum Tiyāgi Vēḷār
The Temple Anusāram Biksai maḍam Nangariyum Perumāḷ.

As this parcel was unirrigated, the benefactor acquired 2 *mā* of Sikhānallūr land with 3 *nāḻigai* each of 9 turns of irrigation right in the wet fields as tax-free with occupancy rights (*Iṛaiyili Kārāṇkiḻamai*) from the ūrār of Sikhānallūr who undertook to bear the payment of land dues for this wet land.[91]

In the 14th year of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1230) another garden on the eastern bank of Veḷḷār for the deity to visit for the hunting festival was purchased and endowed by one Kalikaḍinda Pāṇḍyadēvan *alias* Sankaran Kaṇḍan of Kuḷattūr in Malai Maṇḍalam (Cēra country). He purchased the land from a number of owners of Sikhānallūr :

Sathinambi *alias* Tambirān Tōḻan
Dēvan Kōthaṇḍan
Perumāḷ Periyan
Perumāḷ Nambi
Udayan Perumāḷ
Āccambi Kōthaṇḍan and others
Vēndan Uḍaiyār and others.

The vendors also attested the endowment.[92] This garden was named as Tiyāgan Ciriyan Tiru-vēṭṭai Tōppu. The deity was to be taken to this garden on three festival days, and food offerings spread on cloth (Tiruppāvāḍai) were to be made for Him. For this purpose the Vayalaka Nāṭṭu Nāṭṭār undertook to the benefactor to measure 10 *kalams* and 5 *kuruṇi* by the measure used for measuring land dues in that nāḍu. The budget was as follows :-

For 1 festival of hunting	...	rice :	1 *kalam*
For 3 festivals of hunting	...	„	3 *kalams*
Paddy equivalent at ⅖ recovery	...		7 *kalams* 1 *tūṇi*

			and 1 *padakku*
For curries and condiments	...	paddy:	2 *kalams* 2 *tūṇi* and 3 *kuruṇi*
Total	...		10 *kalams* and 5 *kuruṇi*

The festivals were in the months of Mārgaḻi (December-January), Māsi (February-March) and Panguni (March-April) and this paddy was to be measured in Cēra-pāṇḍya maṇḍapam.

The signatories on behalf of the Nāḍu were:

Taiyūr Nāṭṭu Vēḷān

Vayalaga Nāṭṭu Vēḷān

Tenkōnāḍu Vēḷān

Amaran Udaiyan

Tirugnāna Sambandan - illiterate - on his behalf Taḻuvakkuḻaindān Muraiyaḍippāḍuvān.

Arasu Kaliyan

Bhūpāla Vēḷān

Kuppaiya Dēvan-being illiterate-Sembiyan Kōnāṭṭu Vēḷān signed for him.

By order of the Nāṭṭār the Ubhaya pramāṇam (endowment deed) was written by one of the accountants of the Nāḍu, Tāginān Nakkan.[98]

In the 16th year of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I the ūrār of Vīsalūr sold the field Kuḷapaṭṭi belonging to Āḻvāndēvan who defaulted in paying land dues and the royal officers took the ūrār to task *(danikka)*. In the public auction, Sankaran Kaṇḍan *alias* Kalikaḍindadēvan of Kuḷattūr in Malaimaṇḍalam responded. He desired to acquire the lands for providing for the following:-

(1) He desired to plant boundary-stones on either side for the street (*Tiruvīdi*) he had formed to lead to the garden for burning lamps in the street, and for serving both he had raised curbs or parapets (*Nallarumadil*), and

(2) On the three days on which the God proceeded in a procession through the street for the festivals in Mārgaḻi, Māsi and Panguni months, and on the three days on which Sundaranāyanār (a new deity apparently installed) proceeded in a procession, in all six days, for the oil to be fed into the street lamps, and for food offerings to be

made to Sundaranāyanār on the three days which were an additional service.[94]

The price paid by him was 1500 current good new *kāsu*[95] *plus* 500 for making it tax-free (i.e. a capitalised value of the land dues). The obligation to pay the land-dues for this field was taken by the Vīsalūr ūrār.

Kalikaḍinda Pāṇḍyan also founded an additional festival to be celebrated in Āvaṇi month, for the deity, Tirunalakunṛa-muḍayanāyanār, which was to be conducted every year with flag hoisting for 9 days, and the final holy bath to be performed on the *Uttara nakstra,* being the native asterisk of Prince (Piḷḷayār) Ānaiyumāvenṛa Kōn Aḻagapperumāḷ. For this festival the 'Sār' Arayan Teṛṛān Arasarkaḷanjappirandān Kaḍambarāyan endowed two tanks and their ayacuts tax-free.[96] They were Mukkuḷam ayacut and tank, and Tulukkarāyan Kuḻi.

In the 22nd year of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1238) the Mēlmaṇanilai ūrār and the temple Sthānathār of Tiruvikramacōḷīsvara in that village sold a Dēvadāna ayacut of that temple 5 *mā* in extent, Dānamperṛān Kuḍikkāḍu for *paḷankāsu* 205 and paddy 10 *kalams.* The vendee was a dancing girl of Tiru-Nalakunṛam Umaiāḻvi Periyanācci. The *kaḍamai* was 6 *kalam* of paddy, and *kīḻvari* 7 *mēni dramam* or old *kāsu* 24 *dramam.* It would be eligible for remission if there was scarcity of water, and the ūrār would estimate the crop. For dry crops, as *per* yield estimated, the levy would be collected. Several Bhaṭṭas signed the sale-deed. The Periyanāṭṭu Vēḷān attested that no '*antarāyam*' was payable.[97]

About the same year (21st year) the same vendors sold to another dancing girl (perhaps the previous vendee's daughter) Periyanācci Duggai of Tirunalakunṛam five *mā* of land for new *kāsu* 3200.[98]

These complete the recorded evidence of the vast development that the temple and the Township had during the reigns of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I and his successor. The temple was enlarged. A separate shrine for the Goddess was constructed and the prākāras were widened. Gōpuras were built over the entrance which was widened. New deities were installed. The Vimāna of the shrine for the Goddess (Akhilāṇḍēśvari) was constructed by the Pāṇḍya ruler, Sundarēśa.[99] This could refer to Māravarman

Sundara Pāṇḍya (I) in all probability.

A number of new festivals, for taking the Lord on a hunting jaunt to the banks of the Veḷḷār were provided for. Two gardens were reared, and maṇḍapas were built. New streets were added, and arrangements for torches to be burnt on festive days all along the road were made. These improvements were further added to during the next important reign of Jaṭāvarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya.

In the 11th year, and 173rd day (A.D. 1265) of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, he was camping at Kārayūr in Kōnāḍu. Kāḷingarāyan, one of the noteworthy personages of the times had supplicated to the King as follows: The Dancing girl of Tirunalakkunṛam, Duggaiāṇḍi's daughter Nācci, had installed a Goddess Arivuḍaimalai-mangai for the Tirukkāmakōṭṭam of the Mahadēva of Tirumēṛṛaḷi, i.e. the rock-cut shrine. (The Shrine is even now called Malaya-mangai Amman).

To conduct services and execute works, it was submitted that the land dues from Mēlmaṇanallūr be granted. Accordingly the King was pleased to grant the land and other dues from that village, the tank, the water spread, the house site, house site waste, wet and dry and garden lands. In doing so the following were excluded: (1) 1/2 *vēli* of occupied holding and lands within already granted to Tiru-vikrama cōlēśvaramuḍaiyar of that village, and (2) another 1/2 *vēli* endowed as *Maḍappuram* to the Nārpatteṇṇāyiravan Tirumaḍam in Tirunalakkunṛam. Old *Dēvadānas* were excluded. On the remaining extent the land-dues, *Karpūra vilai* (the favourable commuted payment for the King to quit the demand on the land, for the land being endowed to a temple) payable on any lands within, *Kāriyavārāicci* (court-fee) *Pañjupīli* (share of cotton produce), *Sandhi vigrahapēṛu* (levies at times for war and peace), *Tari iṛai* (on weaver), *Tattaḷipāṭṭam* (on carpenter), *Inavari* (*per capita* tax), *Īḻam-Puñjay*, *Sekkiṛai* (on oil-mills), *Ponvari*, *Ilāñjinai - pēṛu*, *Antarāyam*, *Adaraviniyōgam*, *Accuvari*, *Veṭṭippāṭṭam*, *Iḍaivaṛi* were all granted as *Iṛayili Devadānam* from the 11th year.[100] This order was accordingly endorsed and issued by Kālingarāyar. A few others attested the order.[101]

It might be noticed that while the Sikhānāthar Shrine had a Goddess installed earlier in Māravarman Sundara's time, the older Shrine of Tiru-mēṛṛaḷi had a Goddess shrine attached only later, and

the felt want was supplied by Nācci the dancing girl. The temple had earlier acquired endowments in Mēlmaṇanallūr and the entire taxes stood remitted by the royal command.

Next year (13th) A. D. 1266, the dancing girl, Nācci daughter of Duggai Āṇḍār, was sold Dēvadāna lands of the temple of Tirunalakunṛamuḍaiya nāyanār by the Nāṭṭār of Kōnāḍu and the priests and the temple authorities, the accountants, and the weavers. The circumstances of the sale were as follow:

As the temple had fallen into disrepair, and as they had no capital funds (*uḍal*) for the renovation, they sold the Tirunāmatukkāṇi (holding held in the sacred name of the God Siva) in Iluppaikkuḍi tank and ayacut, for an amount of new coin 73,300. The prior sale to another dancing girl, Tiriccenduraippāṇḍi Tirunōkkaḻagiyāḷ of three *mā mundirigai*, and another field Periya-sei of three *taḍis* in extent, together with the proportionate share for water were excluded. The amount was brought to the forum of sale and shown and remitted into the hand of Ādi-Caṇḍēśvarar. The land shall pay the *kaḍamai* and other dues to the temple. The rates were on assessment of crops, and on actual yielding extent, 15 *Kalams* per *mā* and 15 *kāśu*. As the lands were entered in the sacred name of the God, the miscellaneous levies *antarāyam*, *adaraviniyōgam*, and *āttēvai* (i.e. payment in cash for land the obligatory levies distributed among holdings, and requisitioning of manual labour) were not to be added to the common holdings of the village and not payable to the State (*ūrpuravuḍan kūṭṭi Tiṛapparku Iṛukka kaḍavatallavadāgavum*). The lands were vendible and could be gifted. A large number of signatories attested the deed:

Annavāyil Vaḷavadarayan Tennavadarayan
Vayalagam Sembiyadarayan
Vayalagam Dēvadarayan
Sikhānallūr Sembiyan Pallavadaraiyan
Aṇṇavāyil Kurukulattaraiyan
Vaḷavan Pallavadarayan
Punnanguḍi Pattarukkaruḷ seivān Vaḍugan Sēndan.
Ollaiyūrmangalam Rājarāja Ollaiyūrnāṭṭu Vēḷān
Tirunalakunṛattu Anbāṇḍān
Tirumunaippāḍi Nambi
Arputa Kūtta Bhaṭṭan

Kuḍukkumtiyāgi Bhaṭṭan
Kulōttunga Pallavadaraiyan
Tirunalakunṟamārāyan-illiterate. The ūr Kaṇakku (Accountant) Serundivanapperumāḷ signed for him
Kīḻattāṇiyam Vīracōḷamūvēnda-Vēḷān
Vaḷavan Pallavadaraiyan
Mēlmaṇanallūr Vēḷān Periyadēvan Rajēndra Cōḷa Vēḷān
Vinjattarayar- illiterate-Perumāḷ Piḷḷai signed for him
Nambiyārūran Gangaikoṇḍa mārāyan-illiterate, Kōnāḍu Vairāgi signed for him
Ollaiyūrmangalam Piramanāyagan
Iḍaiyāṟṟūr Ollaiyūr nāṭṭu Vēḷān
Kurukulattarayan Aḻagiyān
Ālattūr Urattūrnaṭṭu Vēḷān
Vaḍugan Pillān alias Ālāla Sundara Bhaṭṭan
Sengadir Cōḻa Mūvēnda Vēḷān
Iḍangoṇḍān
Nelvēli Mādavan Nambi
Kāraiyūr Piramāṇḍār
Kāraiyūr Cōḻa Divākaramūvēnda-vēḷān
The Temple Saivācāryam Tiruvēgambamuḍaiyān Tiruccirṟambala Pāṇḍian
Annalvāyil Udayapperumāḷ
Punnanguḍi Sembiyadaraiyan Vaḷavadaraiyan
Parambaiyūr Nambuseivān
Irārāpuram Vallanāṭṭu Vēḷān
The temple Saivācāryan Nālāyira Bhaṭṭan

This document had a long list of signatories, perhaps, because the amount was for a public charitable purpose, and the sale had to be in the entire knowledge of the Nāḍu. Almost each of the constituent townships in the Nāḍu had one, and even more than one signatory. Besides the Township accountant, the priests, the Saivācāryam and māhēsvaras also attested the deed.[102] This document itself was to be both sale-deed and deed for the final and full settlement of the sale-value received.

Not content with this, the vendors again gave a hand-receipt in writing (*Kaiyīḍu*) for the receipt and remittance of the tendered sale-

value perhaps because the amount was large or because the amount had to be acknowledged for the temple. They received the amount inside an enclosure in the temple (Arundīsa-kaṭṭu-kullu?) and paid out into the hands of Caṇḍēśvaṛa and gave an underwritten Surety receipt, (Kiḻpuṇaittīṭṭu) themselves standing surety. and underwriting the remittance into the temple.

On behalf of the Nāṭṭār, Temple priests, Temple accountants again a number of signatories all subscribed to this acknowledgement Many were repetitive names of the signatories in the main sale-deed.

Iḍangoṇḍān
Annavāyil Vaḷavan Pallavadarayan
Kāraiyūr Sengadir-cōḷa-mūvēndavēḷān
Kāraiyūr Piramāṇḍān
Nambu Seivān
Sēndan Kariya Perumāḷ
Vaḍugan Sēndan
Rājēndra Vēḷān
Cōḷa-divākara mūvēnda Vēḷān
Karuṇālayan Perumāḷ
Dēvakanmi Āḍavanda Piḷḷai
The temple accountant Serindivana perumāḷ
Nalladariyum Perumāḷ

This was in the 13th year in Citra month (April-May)[103]

But the renovation contemplated was presumably impeded if not given up. Two years later, circa A.D. 1268 due to the change in the political set-up, and the change in regime, the ūrār of Vīsalūr were in distress. They had earlier invited the assistance of Vaippūruḍaiyār who had earlier conquered the tract, and the Iraṇḍu-Karai Nāṭṭār to renovate and reclaim the Dēvadāna Tank and ayacut, diverting the water from Veḷḷār and the nobleman had agreed to cultivate it with his own labour (*Paṇṇai*) and pay *Kaḍamai* and *Kīḻiṛai* to the temple. Vaippūr-uḍāiyan was shown a concession (in lieu of the capital investments made, perhaps, and the *Ponvari* and *Viniyōgam* due as per the apportioned share fell into disuse. The ūrārs hence "did not hold the lands themselves and pay the land dues (*Nāngaḷ Engaḷ Kāṇi Paṛṛi Kadamai Kīḻiṛai Iṛuttu-pōdāmayālē*). Later, Vāṇādarayar and Kāngēyar conquered and entered into the

tract, and in the 14th year insisted "the lands in your village, you should yourselves hold, and occupy, and the appointed taxes, like *Ponvari* and *viniyōgam*, besides the *kaḍamai*, *kiḻirai* for the (temple) nāyanār shall be paid by you." The ūrārs had no resources to pay the determined cash assessment and the Chiefs (Mudalis) put the three *vēlis* under watch (*Mudaligal Kāval Seivikkayil*). Hence the ūrārs sold three *vēlis* out of the total of six *velis* and the proportionate share of water from the sluices and other appurtenant rights, for Pannai cultivation by the Tirunalakunṛam Uḍaiyār (*Koyil Uḻavu Muṛṛūṭṭāha*) They received in all 64,000 *kāsu*. Of the amount, 50,000 *kāsu* got paid from the temple, treasury, from out of the cash kept for the renovation of the temple to the royal chieftains (*Mudali*) on behalf of the ūrār. This was cited and set-off in the sale price.[104]

Of the sale-price of 64,000 *kāsu*, 50,000 was thus paid to the King's chiefs. The capitalised value for the obligations due to the ūrār was 4,000 *kāsu*. The value capitalised for the obligations to be rendered through the Nāḍu was 10,000 *kāsu*. The lands were relieved of the obligations to render personal service (*Āttēvai*) *Kūṛṛarisi*, and *Veṭṭi-muṭṭāvaḷ*, nor the Visalūr ūrārs were to bear these obligations. Nor were the levies of *Ponvari* and *viniyōgam* (*Kaḍamai* and *Kuḍimai*) to be demanded by the Nāṭṭār. If any were demanded, the Nāḍu was to bear these levies themselves.

The signatories for the ūrārs were the following:-

Kuladīpa Vēḷān-as he was illiterate, Arangattān signed for him and on his own behalf.

Selvan Piraman - being illiterate Puduvūr Periya dēvan signed for him and on his own behalf.

On behalf of the Iraṇḍu-Karai Nāṭṭār the following were the signatories:

Annavāyil Kurukulattaraiyan
Vīra Cōḷa Vēḷān
Puduvūr Periyadēvan
Sōlaiēri Tirumanru Poliyaninṛān Ālattūr Vēḷān
Parambayūr Nambuseivān
Iḍangoṇḍān
Punnanguḍi Sendirāṇān Sembiyadaraiyan
Sikhānallūr Vaḷavadaraiyar Sōman Tōḻan

Visalūr Kōnaṭṭu Vēḷān
Nerunjikuḍi Vīra-Rājēndra-cōḷa Vēḷān
Vayalagam Bhūpāla Vēḷān Sembiyadaraiyān
Karaṇḍūr Nambi Veḷḷamtānginān-being illiterate, the Ūr Kaṇakku Vayalagam Uḍaiyān signed on his behalf.
Vēmbanūr Kūttāṇḍān
Mēnpaḻavēli Tirunalakunṟamuḍaiyān
Kīḻmaṇanallūr Periya-dēvan
Rājēndra Vēḷān
Sundaram Ēḻumāvali-mannan
Iḍaiyāṟṟūr Pokkāman Tāḻi
Kāraiyūr Mārāyan Piramāṇḍān
Kīḷattāṇiyam Vīra-cōḷa Vēḷān
Va'avan Pallavadaraiyan
Ollaiyūrmangalam Tiruccirāppaḷḷi Uḍaiyār
Sengadir-Cōḷa Muvēnda-Vēḷān

This and the earlier record would show the Nāṭṭār had comprised leading land-holders drawn from the several ūrs or townships with in. The respective obligations due to or throughthe ūrār and those due to the Nāḍu also could be gleaned through this transaction. From the capitalised amount, the obligations of the ūrārs were less (their capitalised value was 4,000 *kāsu*) while those of the nāḍu far more (10,000 *kāśu.*) .The obligation of the Township residents to hold the lands themselves so that the integrity of obligations due to the King, to the Nāḍu and to the Ūr could be maintained and enforced was explicit. It restricted the freedom of enjoyment by induction of "outsiders", more so, when they were noblemen of loyalties to an earlier regime, when the Nāḍu was captured and held by others. Under the stress of circumstances when the fields were under distraint by the Chiefs, the Nāṭṭār, the ūrār, and the temple authorities did not hesitate to divert the amount funded for Temple renovation to secure relief. This large amount had, perhaps, formed part of the sale-proceeds of the earlier sale to the dancing girl for 73,300 *kāsu*.

In the same year, the Nāṭṭār of Kōnāḍu and the Temple authorities agreed to defray from the Dēvadāna lands in Vīsalūr which were endowed by the ūrār, the expenses for a four days' festival when the

Gods were to be taken in procession.[105] The Goddess, Āvuḍaiyār (or the Linga?) was to be applied sandal paste. If the God was taken in procession to a maṇḍapa, food offerings of 2 *kalams* of rice, and curry were to be served to the God for each procession on each day, and for the offerings" spread on cloth'' from the yield of three *mā* of land[105]. If on any festival the deity was not taken in procession, the paddy at two *kaḷams* per festival shall be measured, and credited to the Temple (*Palisaiyilē aḷandu*) and acknowledgement obtained from the hand of the temple priests and accountants.

The Signatories for the Kōnāḍu were the following:

Nambu-Seivān
Punnanguḍi Sembiyadaraiyan
Annavāyil Kurukulattaraiyan
Sikhānallūr Vaḷavadaraiyan
Sengadir Cōḻa Mūvēnda Vēḷān
Vīrarājēndra Cōḻa Mūvēnda Vēḷān
Ālāla Sundara Bhaṭṭan
Arputha Kūtta Bhaṭṭan
Kuḍukkum Tyāgi Bhaṭṭan
Saivācāryam Tiruccirṛambalapaṇḍitan
Nālāyira Bhaṭṭan
Anbāṇḍān
Tirumunaippāḍi Nambi
Kulōttunga Pallavadaraiyan
Vinjattaraiyan
The temple accountant Tirunalakunṛamuḍaiyān
The Temple accountant Serundivanapperumāḷ

The temple of Sikhānallūr was held in special reverence by the residents of the surrounding villages in this and adjoining Nāḍus. Thus, a compromise settlement deed to end feuds between the Tenkō-nāḍu Sikhānallūr Kuḍumiyār Udayapperumāḷ and the ūrārs of Pulvayal Anjunilai was recorded in the temple, but not before the feud had caused a few deaths in retaliation.[106]

The temple though held in reverence, was itself the scene and victim of a theft by the temple priests in which the (stone) mason of the village (Taccan) had also colluded. This resulted in the ex-communication of the priests guilty of the thefts, and confiscation of

their properties.[107]

The temple had also acquired the private holdings of Arasan Kaṇḍa Dēvan, Arasarkaḷanjappirandān Āyilyarāyan of Pulvayal in Vayalōga nāḍu, in two ayacuts. These were all transactions in the reign of a Vīra Pāṇḍya who could not be identified.[108]

In the 4th year of Mārvarman Kulaśēkhara (A.D. 1272) the nāṭṭār of Kōnāḍu and the temple priests and accountant sold an abandoned ayacut and breached tank called Taṭṭānguḷam in auction. The 30 days' turn-holding-priests, Subrahmanya Bhaṭṭar, Aḻagayan *alias* Nambuśeivān Bhaṭṭan, responded and purchased the land on *Kuḍinīngā dēvadānam* tenure for reclaiming the land, and excavating the tank for current coin 30[109]. The rate of *Kaḍamai* payable was fixed at 7 and odd *kalams* per *mā* and *Kīḻiṛai* 1/8 *paṇam*. For summer crop like gingely half the rate, and for *varagu* 3/4. As it was a Dēvadāna tenure land, no *antarāyam*, *adaraviniyōgam*, and *āḷtēvai* shall be payable or demanded and they were added to the obligations of the ūr.

The signatories to the deed were:-

Nambu Seivān
Iḍangoṇḍān
Annavāyil Kurukulattaraiyan
Kāngēyan
Punnanguḍi Tennavadaraiyan
Sikhānallūr Vaḷavadaraiyan
Visalūr Kuladīpavēḷān
The Koil (Anusāram) Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Uḍaiyār
Anbāṇḍān
Nambi ......
The Priest Āḷavanda Piḷḷai Arputha Kūtha Bhaṭṭan
Kuḍukkum Tyāgi Bhaṭṭan
Edirthavar Kāla Cakravarthi
Nālāyira Bhaṭṭan
Kulōttunga Pallavadarayan
Tiru(nalakunra)mārāyan
....
....
Savundra Pāṇḍi Pallavadarayan

The Temple accountant Nārpattennāyira-Vēḷān signed it.

In the same year, the ūrār of Punnangudi in Kunrusūḻnāḍu sold in auction a field in the big tank ayacut as *kuḍinīngā dēvadānam* for a lamp service in the temple. Kanjamalai-dēvan *alias* Periya-uḍaiyān Tennavadaraiyan of this village purchased it for 150 current *seṇbaga guḷigai paṇam.*[110] He agreed to measure per day *uḻakku āḻakku i.e.* three *āḻākku* of ghee.

Towards the end of the reign in the 26th year (AD 1294) the ūrār of Tirunalakunram sold their holding called Sāmaivayal in auction. Urattūr Kūrram Mēnelmēli Kūttan Sokkanār and others agreed to buy it for 25 *paṇam*, apparently a concessional price, as the lands were long waste, and the tank had to be re-excavated and ayacut reclaimed. The rate of *Kaḍamai* was seven *kalam*, one *tūni*, *padakku* in paddy and 25 *paṇam* in cash. Among the boundaries a street leading to Cēra-Pāṇḍya Tirutōppu was also mentioned.[111]

Among the signatories the ūr kaṇakku Tirunalakunṛam uḍayān dēvan, Sikhānallūr Kaṇakku Tiruccirāppaḷḷi Uḍayān, and the incumbents of Silpācāryam holding of the Township, Vīra Pāṇḍya Ācāri-Poṛkōil Ācāri, Pīrakaṭkaṇḍa Ācāri and Kāḍuveṭṭi Ācāri-four in all also figured.

The last endowment in the reign was in the 36th year (AD 1304) by Vēḷān Sivanīndakālan of Kāraiyūr in Ollaiyūr-Kūṛṛam in Kōnāḍu. He had purchased it from the ūrār of Nelvēli in Kūḍalūr nāḍu and it was on Kudinīngā dēvadāna tenure for a lamp service which was to be maintained from four *kalam* per *mā* of paddy to be realised from the land. This was a private endowment out of his own private possession but creating a right for the temple therein. Presumably, the land dues and obligations on these lands had to be borne by the holder of the land himself.[112]

In an inscription of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's time, the Nāṭṭār, and the temple servants and the ūrārs sold the dēvadāna lands in the three ayacuts Kōḍanēri, Kavikkurcci; and in Iluppaikuḍ fields a land called Nāccivayal donated by a dancing girl, Tiruvottacāmamaḻagiyāḷ. They were auctioned, and a weaver (Kaikōla) of Sēndanēri in Kuṛumaṛai Nāḍu, by name Ponnambalavan Vuyyavandān Perumāḷ alias Kāngēyan responded. As the lands were overgrown with trees, three years time was allowed to reclaim the ayacut and the

land dues were at varied rates. For Kōḍaneri for yielding lands 8 *kaḷam, tūni, padakku* per *mā*; so too, perhaps for Kāvidikuricci. But for Iluppaikuḍi Nāccivayal, with a well therein 10 *kaḷam, tūni, padakku* per *mā*. For Marungūr, as it was lying waste from the 16th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya, ¼ *varisai* at two *kalam* per *mā*. From the second year, after it started yielding, ½ or four *kalam* and thereafter at that rate for ever. *Kīḻiṛai* for Marungūr alone was 7½ *kāsu* and for others 15 *kāsu*. This reckoned with the differential rates of yield, and productivity of land. The sale proceeds of 150 *paṇam* were intended for the renovation of Rājanārāyaṇan Tirukkaṛṛaḷi (a maṇḍapam to be constructed in stone).[113]

The *varisai* for the two other ayacuts were:- (1) for Mukkuḷam for the entire ayacuts of yielding lands, 60 *kalams* by *nāṭṭukkāl* and 4 *paṇams*. If any portion was damaged, the proportionate rate for the yielding crops was to be collected.

The only inscription in the Subrahmaṇya Shrine on top of the hill was perhaps of the reign of Māṛavarman Kulasēkhara II(A.D.1317). The Nāṭṭār of Kōnāḍu and Iraṇḍu Karaināḍu gave the title of 'Nāṭṭarasu' to Kulamangalattarayar; that is to attend to watch and ward functions. They were to receive five *kalams* of paddy and have some right in the temple - the privilege of bearing the Lord (*Srīpādam*) and the privilege of a bugle being blown, and receiving temple honours (*Munnoḍukku*)[114]

There were also four or five laudatory verses in praise of Pāṇḍya rulers in the second Gōpura entrance built, perhaps, during the period. They perhaps celebrate the exploits of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. They are reproduced in Appendix 'A'.[115]

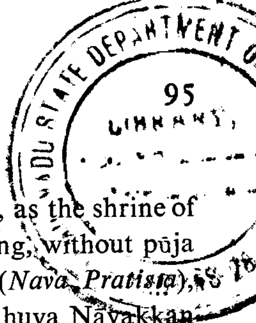
The period between the later Pāṇḍyas and the 15th century had been marked by political disintegration, and the Muslim incursions and disturbance in the realm. By early 15th century, the Vijayanagar rule had extended to the tract. With that extension, the Nāyak generals had carved out their principalities, and the local chieftains got attached to them or otherwise agreed to pay a tribute in recognition of their authority to collect land dues in a 'Seemai' or locality or a group of villages. The term "Seemai" is from *Simā* (land) in Sanskrit and Telugu. A system of three tiers or even more came to be superimposed on the villages, and the administration of personal estates

through personal executives was becoming conspicuous. The rates of levy were also found to be excessive.[116]

The conditions were propitious for the old clans, and chieftains who could seize the opportunity to come to prominence, and assert their claims over rivals in the tract, and for strengthening their hold on the villages held by them. One such family was that of the Pallavarāyars of Vaḻudiyūr (now called Vaithūr) who had been at loggerheads with the Vijayālaya Chieftains of Sūraikkuḍi.[117] Even earlier in A.D. 1449 this had surfaced but it was not till A.D. 1530 after the Pallavarāyars had secured the support of the new Nāyak rulers that they could claim to have secured Virāccilai.[118] Their loyalty and subservience to the Nāyak and Vijayanagar rulers were evident from their naming themselves after their new superiors.

In Saka 1432 (A.D. 1510) Vīra Pratāpa Dēvarāyar II was ruling in Vijayanagar. Vīra Narasinga Nāyakkan was the Governor in the tract including Pudukkōṭṭai. Vaḻudiyūr Araśu Tīrādavinai Tīrthān *alias* Vīra Narasinga Rāya-nāyakkapallavarāya sold Pudūr, his holding (*Kāṇiātci*) in Parambayūr (Śīrmai), his estate to the temple for 30 *pon*, as he had no means to pay the levy or tribute (*Kāṇikkai*) that the Nāyak Governor was pleased to order him to pay. He sold the natham limits (or house sites) (*Natha rēkai) Paṛakkuḍi Vāśal, Manai, Ērkaḍamai Kāṇikkai,* and *Āḷamanji, Ubhayam,* paddy and cash revenue-yield to the Temple.[119] Besides, the *natham* site occupied, and vacant, and the house-sites of the cultivating tenantry, the rights transferred were the rate of land levy for dry lands charged per plough (*Ēr Kaḍamai*) the collective levy on cultivated lands, particularly wet, fixed in lump (*Kāṇikkai*) *Āḷamanji* or manual labour that had to be contributed without payment, particularly for communal or collective obligations, and contributions for religious or social ceremonies or when the rulers visited the village (*Ubhayam*). Thus the obligations on the land not only consisted of payment in kind and cash but also of services and manual labour, besides occasional personal services that the King or the Chieftain could impose or demand.

The grants or sale referred to above should, perhaps, be deemed to have been made to the later shrine of Tirunalakunṛamuḍaiyār (built in Parāntaka I's time). The earlier rock-cut shrine appeared to have fallen into disuse. In the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya in Saka 1449



(A.D. 1527-8) in Subhānu year, Tai month and 2nd day, as the shrine of Kunṛiḍam Koṇḍa Nāyanar was reported to be, for long, without pūja services after a new installation and consecration (*Nava Pratiṣṭa*), Pūjas were resumed. The local Nāyak Governor, Rāhuva Nāyakkan son of Kuppa Nāyakkan granted as his Dharma, the ayacut of Aṇḍankuḍi in Annavāśal Paṛṛu in Uṛathūr Kūṛṛam consisting of the residual ⅔ parts on that day as already ⅓ of the village ayacut had been endowed long time ago to Kuḍumiyār Nāyanār.

This grant was recorded by the Temple accoutant, Mīnava-rāyaru to the dictation of the Nāṭṭār of Anjānilai and others, Anjunāṭṭar.[120]

In A.D. 1551 (S. 1473) one Venkapparayyan of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam gave a grant for the temple.[121] In Vikrama (AD 1580-81?) year, a Nāyak Chieftain Visvanāyakar had the 'Jīvitam' (or estate for tendering soldiery) in Iḍaiturai Maṇiyam assigned to him by Sāḷuva Tirumala to whose retinue Visva-Nāyaka had belonged. At the request of a slave (Aḍiyān) Sevandīvana-Kōn and his younger brothers, their holdings and rights together with the two supplicators were made over for service to the temple for attending to lamps and for attending to repairs, (Tirumēr-pūccu) and other temple affairs and assisting in repair work[122] by the Nāyaka.

The temple was also the public place where social and community settlements were recorded. A feud between two parties was resolved but after much loss of property and life, in the Naḷa year (1555-56?). The feud had extended over several generations, and the parties agreed to set-off the losses of both life and property on either side that had already occurred, and composed their differences and bound themselves to live in peace there-after.[123]

In Vikrama year (AD 1580-81 or 1640-41 ?), an interesting social dispute arose, and a deed of privilege was given by the Sthānathār, the temple authorities, to the Valayas, Muttarayan of Kunṛu-Sūḻnāḍu and Muttarayar of Kōnāḍu and others. This was a break with the past. In the past, in the township, if any death had occured, the corpse was laid on the pallet, and the widow was covered on her head and face or alternatively the valaya had to cover his head and he had to carry the fire-pot and light the pyre with dry straw and twigs, and keep watch over the corpse, and stand through the burning of the corpse. They declined to do so. It was ordered and authorised that

they need not do this act alone. For the rest, in all auspicious ceremonies, services like erecting pandal (for marriages), burning the torches with twigs and other services due shall be rendered. They shall also perform the other rights and services to the Tānattār (the Temple authorities) and the Ūrār and render the appropriate services for the King or the chief and live in happiness. This was authorised by Adikāram Sivandeḻundār, apparently an executive under Pallavarāyar. The temple priest accountant and executive also signed the deed. This might be ascribed to the later half of the 16th century.[124]

A record of Manmada Year (1595-96?), probably some 15 years after the above decision, referred to Vīsalūr Kōnāṭṭu Muttarayar Sevandivana-Muttarayar and others who were performing the above duties even then at times of death. The Valayas of other villages ostracised them, and despised them (Sāti nīkki heenam paṇṇina paḍiyinālē) and they left the village. Mallappa-Nāyaka Pallavarāyar gave an order from his chancery that the watch over the corpse and the covering of the head need not be done thereafter. The signatories to this document appeared to be the same Tānattār and the temple executives. In addition, the executive officer of Mallappa - Nāyakkar Pallavarāyar, Tayyalāppiḷḷai, Vīsalūr Vēḷān and Marungūr Sēvuga-Muttarayar also attested the deed.[125]

The rise of the social consciousness among the Valayars and the deference made to it by the rest of the society, and the intervention of the chieftain of the tract were evident.

In A.D. 1615 (S. 1537), the Ūrār of Sikhānallūr acting through (Amainda) Viḻuppādirāya Aḻagapperumāḷ and others, Sirumāṇikka-Nāyanār Sirāppaḷḷiyār and others, Sokkakūtta Kulōttunganāḍan and others, sold a wet land to Mallappa-Pallavarāyan, son of Accyutappa-Pallavarāyan of Vaḻithiyūr Sīrmai arasu for 30 *pon*.[126]

The land purchased was endowed for performing the sacred bath (Abhisēkapuram) to the diety. In addition, in the East Street of the Sannadhi, to the south of the Temple Car Stand, on the eastern row 13 house-sites and in the southern row to the west of the house-site of Nayinan Piḷḷai, two house-sites plus two shares towards the fee for bringing water for the sacred bath, in all 17 shares, were excepted. Out of the residual lands he had purchased he gave shares to various Brahmins of several Gōtras and the ūrārs were also given two *mā* of

land in the field called Naḍuvil Sendāmaraikkaṇṇan and Kaḷikkuṇḍu.

Besides the three principal vendors, the temple accountant Serindi-vanappiriyan, and the Kōnāṭṭu Vēḷān signed the deed. Mallappa Pallavarāyan also attested it.

Again in Roudri Year (AD 1620-21) during the "rule" of Mallappa Nāyaka-Pallavarāyan and his younger brother Sivandeḻunda-Pallavarāyan, a Tambikiṇaru well with rubble-packing and 18 steps were constructed by Sivandinātha Ceṭṭi Veḷḷayappan [127] One more Pallavarāyar, Sīranganādar, son of Venṛumālai Iṭṭa Pallavarāyar, figured in the epigraphs. During his time Tirumēni Venṛu-mālaiyiṭṭān Pallavadarayan presented an ornament for adorning the head of Candrasēkhara and Nācciyār; "Tirukkai-Vaḻakkam, Tingadivadam and Tirukkārtigai-Tirunāḷ were his endowments.[128]

The Vaḻudiyūr Pallavarāyars had great attachment to the Kuḍu-miyānmalai temple and had made endowments extending over several generations. This was also attested by the *Ulā* celebrating and named after Sivandeḻunda-Pallavarāyar, a later scion of the family and contemporary of Tirumalai Nāyaka of Madurai (AD 1623-1659).

Accyutappa Pallavarāyar, his son Mallappa and his brother Sivan-deḻundān have all been referred to in the geneology of the Hero of the *Ulā*.[129] There was also a reference to Mālayiṭṭa-Pallavarkōn (Vs. 40) and to a Srīrangan (Vs. 62) but these appear to be not identical with the donors of the ornaments referred to above or alternatively they were misplaced in the geneology.

There was a second theft in A.D. 1616, this time by a Kaikōḷa in the second Aḍaivu (turn of service), Tuttiyāṇḍi Silamban by name, who stole the Pattaikārai adorning Akalamīnṛanāyakiyār. It was found out, and one hand of his was chopped off and his holding was confiscated, and he was driven out of the Township, and as a penalty and for the value of the stolen property 10 *pon* was demanded from the share-holders and coparceners of Silamban, the culprit, of the second turn. They could not bear it. They gave a deed, and it was endorsed by the Temple and Mallappa Pallavarāyar's Treasury Officers, and the holdings were sold for 10 *pon* which were remitted to the temple Treasury. The vendee was one Solāicci's daughter, Paḷḷavaṛāya-māṇikkattāḷ, one of the temple retinue (*Parikalam*).[130]

In Isvara year (AD 1637-38?), the Nāṭṭār of Kuṇṛu Sūḻnāḍu, Pillai

Pallavarāyar's executive, the Thānattār of the temple sold, Mūvarayan-Kuḷam and ayacut, belonging to the temple for 20 current *cakra-paṇam* to one Sērrūruḍaiyān Cheṭṭiyār Mīṭṭār Aḍiyārkkunallār of Arantāngiparru. The vendee endowed it for food-offerings, Pūja services and festival expenses for Tirunāvukkarasu Nāyanar, one of the Śaiva Saints whose image was set up in the temple.[131]

There were a number of service holders with a gradation with corresponding temple rights and honours. Disputes were apt to arise among them. One such instance occurred in AD 1742 between the first turn-holders headed by Kāḷingarāyan and the third-turn holders headed by Mutturajan among the Sthānathār or the temple service holders. The latter had staked their claim that even in the first turn they had the privilege of *mayil-muṛamai* (of being decorated ?). They sought justice. The evidence of Kōnāḍu Nappiyār, Toppai-Vīran, Appāsātti-riyar, Kōnappanaṭṭuvan, Paḷani Āsāri, Kosu Vellaiyan, was taken. Based thereon, it was decided and settled that there was no manner of right as claimed and that the link between the first and the third turn was that between chalk and cheece. (*Mudalaḍaivukkum, Mūnāmaḍai-vukkum ācci tuḍacci mayil muṛamai illai*)[132]

A sum up

Five distinct stages of development could be gleaned from the evidence marshalled above.

1 The Pre-Pāṇḍya and the Pāṇḍya period 'of the first empire'
2 The period of the early Cōḻas
3 The period of the Imperial Cōḻas
4 The period of the Pāṇḍyas 'of the second empire' and later.
5 The Vijayanagar and Nāyak period and of the Chieftaincies under them

Kuḍumiyāmalai Temple dated back to the Pre-Pāṇḍya times in the 7th century. The musical inscription inscribed by the side of the rock-cut temple would attest to its cultural and historical importance. The revival of Saivisam, had led to the founding of shrines for Śiva and the ruler's own zest for building rock-cut temples 'without brick or mortar or wood' had fostered it. The rock-cut temples of Siva had proclaimed the new faith, while around were the Jaina caves and retreats in Annavāsal and Sittannavāsal. The new religion had an

emotional basis, and song and music were the vehicles of that emotion. Sculpture, music and poetry concretised the devotional fervour and an appeal to the personal God, Śiva or Viṣṇu in a theistic form. Kuḍumiyāmalai and Tirumeyyam were the visible symbols of this theistic fervour and its expression in many art-forms.

The early Pāṇḍya inscriptions of the 8th century provided for lamps and other offerings. A festival of seven days in Māśi month (February-March) was conducted for Mahādēva of the shrine. These would have only augmented the provision for services and rituals that undoubtedly would have been made earlier, though recorded evidence thereof was lost.

The Township was described as Dēvadānam even in the early Pāṇḍyan inscriptions and could have been granted as such in Pre-Pāṇḍya or early Pāṇḍya times. It was however, not distinguished as Tirumeyyam had been as "Dēvadāna Brahmadēyam" nor did many Brahmins figure as holders of land even in later times except some temple priests, belonging to the Township. The predominant population should have been agriculturists. In Imperial Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya inscriptions, the Ūrār of Tirunalakunṟam and of Sikhānallūr figure, and they had been parties to documents even later. The several signatories occurring in these documents would only confirm this inference.

The Township lay on the highway between the Cōḻa capitals of Uṟaiyūr and later Tanjāvūr and Madurai. Ancient highways from the Irukkuvēḷ capital of Koḍumbāḷūr had converged at this place. This accounts for the more than local significance attached to the temple. A number of deposits of gold had been made which were entrusted to the several residents of the surrounding villages for delivery of ghee. One nāḻi of ghee per month was the interest-equivalent on one *kaḻanju* of gold; the standard deposit for a lamp was 7 or 7½ *kaḻanju* of gold. The endowments were made by the chieftains and soldiers and one Irukkuvēḷ chieftain had proclaimed that he was setting out on an expedition to "ravage" Śrī Laṇka in the closing years of Parāntaka. History recorded the futility of that expedition, and the land gift he made could not alter its course.

In the 9th and 10th centuries, the Township was much frequented by the Irukkuvēḷ Chieftains of Kōnāḍu. They were initially subordinates of the Pallavas, and had their capital at Koḍumbāḷūr. With the

rise of the Cōḻas, they transferred their loyalt to the Cōḻas from they time of the Āditya I, and had matrimonial alliances with them. They played an important part in the campaigns of their overlords against the Pāṇḍyas, and, especially in the Śrī Lanka expeditions of Parāntaka I. A geneological table of these chieftains from the available evidence compiled by the learned Epigraphists is appended (Appendix B, Tables 1, 2 & 3).[133]

The Muttarayars were another family of Chieftains who were rivals to Irukkuvēḷs but, nevertheless had some matrimonial connections with them. They too figure as donors of temple lamps, or other offerings. Above all, the Palace servants of Parāntaka's son Kōdaṇḍarāman, and the Prince himself had endowed gold for lamp services. These could either be offerings invoking the blessings of the divine on their expeditions or votive offerings for success achieved; other lamp endowments might be for the merit of the deceased in battle made by their mothers or other relatives. Doubtless, along with the soldiers the people, the residents of the Chōḻa and the Pāṇḍya countries would have visited the shrine and made endowments.

During Parāntaka's time the new structural shrine of Tirunalakunṛam Uḍayār had come up. Additional services and endowments had been made, and the temple had further expanded.

There were also a few visitors from places afar like the Cēra country following the matrimonial connection of Parāntaka I, Sankaran Kunṛapōḻān, a donor from Puttūr in Malaināḍu, for instance, was one such. He had endowed in Lālguḍi a lamp on behalf of the Cēra ruler's daughter, Kōkkiḻānaḍigaḷ who was probably a queen of Parāntaka I.[134]

Despite such dedications and prominance, endowed cattle were not safe, and deposits of gold were preferred. Not much cultivation appeared to have been committed and if committed, had not been established in the early Cōḻa times. The available evidence brought out that it was more a pastoral economy, tending cattle in drylands and in grazing grounds. Arable lands endowed were far less during the earlier periods. Scrub jungle could have been under process of clearing and cattle - rearing extensive. Goats, cows, and buffaloes were increasingly reared, utilising the jungle and grass lands lying waste. The population resident in the township itself could have been somewhat sparse. Its location on the border of the two kingdoms

of the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōḻas and exposure to the rivalries of the Chieftains who owed and changed their loyalties from one to the other could have led to some insecurity. Flash floods from Veḷḷār and recurring droughts could also have rendered stable and gainful cultivation somewhat hazardous.[135]

These last factors had accounted for repeated auction sales of the lands in the Dēvadāna villages granted to the temple, for renovation of tanks and reclamation often at concessional prices and sometimes with a graded scale of land dues payable to the temple by the land holders occupying and cultivating tenants. These transactions were particularly noticeable in the Imperial Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya times.

The temple was held in veneration by all the nāḍus surrounding it, and endowments were made in several neighbouring Townships within the nāḍu itself, like Vīsalūr, Mēlmaṇanallūr, Kīḻmaṇanallūr, Ilupaikkuḍi, Kāraiyūr, Parambayūr and Paṇanguḍi. It had thus a more extensive appeal and had acquired a regional popularity. Several grants were from devotees from Uṛattūr, Uṛaiyūr and Ollaiyūr Kūṛṛam. This wide provenance of land grants, and the composite character of the resident population would account for the less prominent role of the Ūr or the Ūrs of Tirunalakunṛam and Sikhānallūr, on the whole.

As a consequence, the Nāṭṭār of Kōnāḍu and Iraṇḍukarainādu or Kunṛusūḻnāḍu, all took an active part in the maintenance and upkeep of the services, the renovation and extension of the temple, and reclamation of tanks and of Dēvadāna land. They made collective levies on betel arriving into the nāḍu to fund for the repairs to the temple. A *per capita* levy suitably graded for the different kinds of residents distinguishing the minors and reckoning with the public service or obligation-catagories was also authorised for the same purpose. The Nāṭṭārs also were invariably parties to the sale or other transactions involving the temple properties, and were necessary custodians of public trusts and conscience. They were joint agencies for investigation of crimes or for any recognition of public services or for conferring honours.

The Nāṭṭār signatories seem to have been drawn from the several townships comprised in the Nāḍu and some times more than one signatory hailed from the same place. Almost all of them were Vēḷār or leading agriculturists, the landed and residential worthies of the place

who could carry weight and carry people along with them even if some of them were illiterate. Illiteracy was no bar to their participation in decision-making for the Nāḍu.

The Ūrār and the Nāṭṭār recovered the capitalised value of the land dues which they agreed to remit to the king's officers annually from out of the interest. In the computation of the value of the taxes and obligation payable by the holder of the land, the share accruing to the Nāḍu was far more than the share of the obligation and levies due to the Ūr direct. This could be inferred from the differential capitalised values realised by the Ūr (4000 *kāsu*) as against 11,000 *kāsu* paid to the Nāḍu in the Vaippūruḍaiyār case.

There were more than one accountant for the Nāḍu, the Ūr and the Temple. Possibly, the offices were held on a hereditary basis.

There was a colony of resident weavers who had also constituted a part of the Cōḻa soldiery. Two such regiments were mentioned. The first was the Mūṉṟupaḍai Kaikōḷar, the other the Paḻirpili Annūrruvar. The Kaikōḷar had set up a deity, and named it after themselves, perhaps as Kaikōḷa Nāyakar and endowed lands for the services. They were also parties to the collective decisions of the Nāḍu.

Extensive land grants and additions to the temple were noticed in the later Cōḻa time. Here as in Nārttāmalai the Cōḻa-Pāṇḍya conflict during the reign of Kulōttunga III and of Pāṇḍya Māṟavarman Sundara I did not affect the conduct of the temple affairs but resulted in augmentation of its resources. Separate shrines for the goddessess, and additional deities were consecrated. A deity called Sundara Nāyagar was apparently an addition during Sundara Pāṇḍya's time. The Tirunalakunṟa Mahādēvar, the shrine set up during Parāntaka's time had a goddess, Āḷuḍaiya nācciyār added. But the older Tirumēṟṟali Mahādēvar, had a goddess Malai-mangai Nācciyār installed later, thanks to the benefaction of a dancing girl. Lands and tanks fallen into disuse were again and again resold, and reclaimed by individuals intent on providing for additional services.

The Pāṇḍya period had witnessed a more intensive activity in land reclamation and the agrarian economy had become much more established. It marked somewhat of a contrast (from the available evidence) to the preferred forms of cash endowments in the early Pāṇḍya and early Cōḻa periods. The royal grants of land dues from

villages or parcels of land would also have tended to augment the agrarian extensions.

But the rates of land levy were rigorous. Revenue recovery proceedings were exacting. When the Nāṭṭār had no resources, the Pāṇḍyan chieftains did not hesitate to put the lands under surveillance and distrain the crops pending payment of land dues. In that instance, the temple rushed to the rescue of the Nāṭṭār, paid out the amount funded for renovation, and enabled them to make peace with the King's officers.

Transfer of lands within the township to outsiders was looked as kance at. When the enjoyer happened to be a Chieftain of an overthrown regime and politically unacceptable, the change of ownership or possession was not tolerated. The condition of residence and a sense of belonging to the community resident therein was ordinarily enjoined. The township was basically a closed and inward looking society. This could have helped harmonisation of interests. Collective responsibility and enforcement thereof, could also have been facilitated. But even the Nāṭṭār could not stand up to the rigours of such collective responsibility without the timely aid from the temple.

After the Pāṇḍyan supremacy was firmly established the temple and the township had undergone several extensions. The second prākāra entrance was found to be a hindrance and too inconvenient. It was widened and enlarged. A new gōpura was constructed. Old maṇḍapas and halls were renovated, or reconstructed. Additional maṇḍapas were erected like Kāngeyarāyan maṇḍapa. The interest and benefaction of a single Chieftain by name Kāngēyarāya in the first half of the 13th century, stand out as a memorable monument of dedicated attachment to the temple. He had left extensive records. He took care to copy the earlier records, and himself dictated their re-engraving on stone after renovation. If his intention was to preserve the documents of title for endowments made, his act can be considered to be one of the conspicuous examples of archivistic preservation and appreciation. Endowments made even by rulers who were vanquished by the Pāṇḍyas were copied and preserved.

The dancing girls in the township had won recognition. They not only practised their art and performed *Sānti Kūttu* on festive occasions but installed deities of goddesses on their own initiative.

They were even prosperous to buy up ayacuts and reclaim lands and re-endow their proceeds or share thereof to the temple. They had large sums of ready cash on hand, and could produce 64,000 *kāsu* when the temple was in need of funds for its renovation.

Benefactors from afar, from the Cēra country from Kurumaṛai Nāḍu on the border of the Cēra and Pāṇḍya country or from distant Koḍungaḷūr, were facilitated in their desire to make endowment by buying lands, reclaiming them and to institute new festivals and services. Gardens for two hunting festivals were raised. Additional streets were laid for the Gods to be taken in procession. They were lit by lamps and torches. Food-offerings were made and the devotees and priests were to receive them. New maṇḍapas were constructed. Acts like these were appreciated, and helped by the Nāṭṭār. One conspicous benefactor was Kalikaḍinda-dēvan Pāṇḍya, *alias* Sankaran Kaṇḍan of Kuḷathūr. The acts of piety of such "outsiders" had only increased the social and economic potential of the township, and the residents as well as the temple stood to gain out of it. The outsiders were thus instruments for agricultural extension, and for the wealth of the resident-community to be augmented and the benefit accrued, of course, to the Township.

A number of festivals were conducted. From the earliest time these were the months of Mārgaḻi, (December-January) Māśi (February March), and Panguni (March-April). In the last two months, the Māśi Magam and Panguni Uttiram were celebrated. Later, a four-day festival was also added and one in Āvaṇi (August-September). In early Pāṇḍya and Cōḻa times, the duration of the festival was for seven days. But later in Pāṇḍyan times, this was increased to nine days with a final bath ceremony on the tenth. Festivals for hunting for which two separate gardens were laid out, were also additions in Pāṇḍyan time. Additional royal grants at the instance of Chieftains like Kāngēyar and Kāḻingarāyar, were made for provisioning for services.

The temple had attached to it a Saivācārya or Anusāram who had the oversight of the practices and the vogues in the temple, and exercised authority over his own followers. Transactions expressed in terms of the command of the deity Caṇḍēśvara, were also subscribed to by the Anusāram. The deity himself was a legal person, and docu-

ments were expressed as made or done by him.

There was a maṭha from early Cōḻa times; later several had been referred to as Kōnāḍan Maḍam, Munbahan Tirumaḍam, Nārpatteṇṇāyiram Maḍam and Anusāram Biksai Maḍam. Perhaps, the Nāṭṭārs were the patrons of the first. Feeding was undertaken for devotees and the priests. There was a care-taker who was paid by a parcel of land, the proceeds of which he could appropriate. Potters, cook, and cleaners were other service holders paid from the proceeds of lands endowed for the maṭha. The Maṭha served as a kind of adjunct to the temple.

The period intervening the later Pāṇḍyan times and Vijayanagar rule was one of confusion aggravated by Muslim incursions. The earlier shrine, Tirumēṟṟaḷi had fallen into neglect and disuse, and pūjas had become discontinued meanwhile. These were revived in the 16th century in Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's time.

In the Vijayanagar period, the Vaḻudiyūr (now called Vaithūr) Pallavarāyars rose to some position. This family had shown loyalty to Nāyak governors despite the exacting levy or tribute they had fastened on them even requiring them to sell a part of their land holdings. They had taken the names of the Nāyak or Vijayanagar rulers, like Acyuta or Mallappa. The Pallavarāyars styled themselves as Pallavarāyars thereafter. Their new found alignment could have helped them to score over the Vijayālaya Thēvars of Sūraikkuḍi 'araśu' with whom they had an age-long feud extending back to the 15th century.

The Pallavarāyars had enlarged the temple, and several generations of the family had added endowments in the form of lands, and ornaments, and jewellery. Their attachment to the Temple was also attested by the 17th century Tamil work *'Sivandeḷunda Pallavarāyar Ulā'*. A laudatory verse in praise of 'Gōpāla Pallavarakōn Kōḻi Vīrarāyan' also was inscribed on the left side of the second Gopura.[186] This could refer to the Pallavarāyars of Perungōḻi [Perungōḷūr].

During the 16th and 17th centuries, social tensions had surfaced. The Valayars refused to do certain acts during obsequies for the deceased in the township, because they were ostracized and despised by their own caste-men. Mallappa Pallavarāyar himself intervened and ordered that they need not thereafter do the disagreeable acts. This was also recorded in the temple twice over within a span of

15 years. Age-long disputes among Arayars and Chieftains were settled and recorded in the temple, as being sacrosacnt and binding on the parties at loggerheads.

Even so, the temple was the scene and victim of two thefts, one recorded in the late 13th century in which its own priests and stone-masons were the criminals. The other was in the beginning of the 17th century when a Kaikōḷa service-holder was a culprit. On both the occasions the conscience of the community was roused effectively against them. They were excommunicated, their properties attached and they were treated as the enemies of the society and divinity. In the latter case, the Kaikōḷa's properties were confiscated along with those of his coparceners and one arm of the culprit was chopped off.

Temple services were several, and usually hereditary. Temple honours and warrant of precedence among the service-holders were coveted, and hence, sometimes, contested. The evidence of varied and diverse sections of the temple servants who ought to know was taken and disputes settled in accordance with custom and practice. Innovations and claims not borne out were rejected out of hand.

The temple had several Tamil verses recorded. They were laudatory verses praising the Pāṇḍya benefactors (vide Appendix A) and others were in praise of Bāna and other Chieftains. But one characteristic verse, though late, composed by a poet Ādinādar inscribed therein conveys 'praise through abuse' (*Nindāstuti*) or distorted praise (*Vakrastuti*) and is quote worthy.

'Engaḷnalakkunṛaraip Pārtu Eḻulagum Inṛa
Umainangai Palakālum Nagai Seyyumē
Gangaiyuṛai Kongai Kamaḻ Seḍilam Poykuḍumi
Yāyviṭṭatengē Yini Maṛaippār Enṛu'[137]

'Beholding our Nalakkunṛar [Siva] the Mother of Seven Worlds, Umai Nangai [Pārvati, his wife] would laugh in jest, many a time, thus: 'The heavy locks to which the bosom of Ganga[dēvi] dwelling within imparted fragrance have now become a false little knot. Where then could He conceal Her hereafter?'.

This, then, is a fitting epigraphic finale for Kuḍumiyāmalai, playing on its funny legend and name, which conceal a long but true history.

1 P. I. 2, Ep. Ind. Vol. XII-pp 227 ff
2 P. I. 3
3 P. I. 4, 5
4 P. I. 238; S. I. I. XIV No. 50
5 S. I. I. XIV No. 50 Foot Note
6 The Pudukkottai Manual assigns the inscriptions noted below to the reigns noted against each:-

P.I. 31 ...	Raja Aditya	20 - A.D. 819	Vol. II
32 ...	" "	20 " "	Pt. I
34 ...	" "	22 " 893	P.580

P.I. 255 (copy)-63, 65,67, 68, 69, 70, 78, 80 Parakesari Parantaka

	Parakesari
P.I. 48, 49, 50.	Parantaka or
	Uthama cola
22	Rajakesari Gandaraditya 3-A.D. 952
45, 52	Parakesari Uthama Cola 6-A.D. 976
	" " " 10-A.D. 980

In S.I.I. XIII, however,
P.I. 22; is ascribed to either Gandaraditya or Sundara Parantaka II
P.I. 29; & 31 to Aditya I
52 : } 57 : } S.I.I. XIX 386 : } to Uttama Cola 10th year
and the folling to Parantaka I:
S.I.I. 387; P.I. 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70 & 74.
7 P. I. 22; S.I.I. XIII, 23
8 P.I. 29; Also S.I.I. XIII 213; Regnal year is here read as II and seemed to refer to Aditya I
9 P.I. 31: S.I.I. XIII, No. 288
10 P.I. 32: S.I.I. XIII, No. 289
11 P.I. 34: S.I.I. XIII, 296
12 P.I. 37: S.I.I. XIII, 326
13 S.I.I. XIII, 327
14 S.I.I. XIX No. 38
15 S.I.I. XIX No. 442
16 S.I.I. XIX No. 38
17 P.I. 43: S.I.I. XIX No. 152
18 S.I.I. XVII, 356 P.I. 77
19 P.I. 45; S.I.I. XIX, 155 attributed to Uthama Cola A.D. 985, vide also Pudukottai Manual Vol II Pt. I p. 580

20 P.I. 46; S.I.I. XIX, 154
21 S.I.I. XIX, 153
22 P.I. 47; S.I.I. Vol XIX, 178
23 P.I. 44; S.I.I. Vol. XIX, 151
24 P.I. 48
25 P.I. 49, apparently this was a ccpy.
26 P.I. 50
27 S.I.I. XIX No. 198 which has variant readings of the names.
28 Ibid
29 P.I. 52; also S.I.I. Vol XIX No. 241 This is attributed to Uthama Cola's reign: Pudukkottai Manual Vol II Pt. I p.580.
30 P.I. 53; S.I.I. XIX No. 243
31 P.I. 55
32 P.I. 57; S.I.I. XIX, 338
33 P.I. 58; S.I I. XIX, 363
34 S.I.I. XIX, 387
35 S.I.I. Vol XIX, 386
36 P.I. 62 Perhaps this was identical with the inscription in S.I.I. XIX No. 38
37 S.I.I. Vol. XIX, 362
38 P.I. 63; S.I.I. Vol XIX, 414
39 P.I. 65; S.I.I. Vol XIX, 414
39-A P.I. 65 continuation
40 S.I.I. Vol XVII, 368 Perhaps identical with P.I. 65 2nd part.
41 P.I. 64; S.I.I. Vol XIX, 415
42 P.I. 66; S.I.I. Vol XIX, 416
43 P.I. 67; S I.I. Vol XVII, 377 The latter reads the year as 12.
44 P.I. 68; S.I.I. Vol XIX, 420
45 P I. 69; S.I.I. Vol XIX, 421
46 P.I. 70; S.I.I. Vol XIX, 436
47 P.I. 74; S.I.I. Vol XIX, 442
48 P.I. 75; S.I.I. Vol XIX, 443
49 P.I. 76; S.I.I. Vol XIV, 50-Foot-note
50 P.I. 78
51 Ibid
52 P.I. 80
53 P.I. 79; Also S.I.I. Vo. XVII, 374
54 The Colas Vol I p. 145 (Prof. K.A.N. Sastri)
55 S.I.I. Vol XVII, 349
56 S.I.I. Vol XVII, 380

57 P.I. 255. An official of that name also occurred in an Allur (Trichinopoly district) record of the 3rd year of Rajakesari, perhaps an earlier member of the family. ARE 380 of 1903: The Colas, Vol I page 364.
58 The Colas, Vol I pages 147-148
59 P.I. 234
60 Ibid 235
61 P.I. 125 Also S.I.I. XVII No 382
62 P.I. 135; S.I.I. Vol XVII, 384
63 P.I. 136
64 P.I. 506
65 P.I. 215
66 Political Geography of Cola Country by Y. Subbarayulu vide his list at the end S. No. 28. item 14
67 P. I. 219
68 P.I. 151
69 P.I. 221
70 P.I. 166
71 P.I. 248 See also op cit, p.72
72 P.I. 229 - From the high reqnal year this could perhaps be ascribed to Kulottunga I; and if so, dated as AD 1115
73 P.I. 181 - This chief also figures in P.I. 151.
74 P.I. 188
75 P.I. 190
76 P.I. 187. The year '5' occurring in the inscription appears to be an error, as he himself acquired it only in the 15th year.
77 P.I. 190
78 Referred to in P.I. 248
79 P.I. 182
80 P.I. 191
81 P.I. 249
82 P.I. 255
83 P.I. 248, 255, & 506
84 P.I. 285 & 601
85 P.I. 285 - According to one view, Kadam = 10 miles or 16.09 km — page 25 'Mensuration in Ancient India' by Sarada Srinivasan (1979). Wilson's Glossary gives 1 Kadam = 8 miles. It could not be 24 Kadam "radius" as rendered by the Pudukottai Ephigraphist. According to McPean's Manual of Administration Vol III a Kadam = 7½ Indian miles.

85 Ibid
86 P.I. 517
87 P.I. 521
88 P.I. 549
89 P.I. 983
90 P.I. 984
91 P.I. 266
92 P.I. 290
93 P.I. 291
94 P.I. 301
95 A new coin seems to have been introduced in the reing, and some "new nexus" seems to have been esfablished
96 P.I. 304
97 P.I. 319
98 P.I. 529
99 S.I.I. Vol XVII No 385
100 P.I. 366. This ruler's characteristic prasasti beginning with 'Tirumagal Valar' helps date the inscription.
101 P.I. 486 Second Part
102 P.I. 367
103 P.I. 368
104 P.I. 375
105 P.I. 374
106 P.I. 600
107 P.I. 601. On these two incidents please see below "Cases, Civil and Criminal".
108 P.I. 603
109 P.I. 383
110 P.I. 384
111 P.I. 406
112 P.I. 542
113 P.I. 486
114 P.I. 565
115 P.I. 651–655
116 On this point please see below 'The Burden of Land Dues'
117 P.I. 462
118 P.I. 745
119 P.I. 726
120 P.I. 741
121 P.I. 756

122 P.I. 753
123 P.I. 960. On this, please see below 'Cases, Civil and Criminal'.
124 P.I. 906
125 P.I. 926
126 P.I. 866
127 P.I. 968
128 P.I. 1090
129 *'Meccu Tamil Iccaiyinil Viccaipayil Mucchamena*
Paccaimukil Acyuta Pallavanum-Accyutappan
Selva Kumāran Selunkarumbu Vilkunitta
Pallappan Mallappan Pallavanum-Mallappan
Pinnan Ilayaperumāl Peruntamilvir
Pannan Sivandelunda Pallavanum' *vv. 61, 62, 63*
In 'Kalvettu' issue No. 6, there is an interesting note on these Pallavarayars by Dr R. Nagaswamy who has also collected the Epigraphic data from Pudukkottai inscriptions in his learned 'Introduction' at pages 9 to 15 of the same issue. The Ula celebrating a later Pallavarayar of the 17th century was composed by Mallaiyur Citrambala Kavirayar about AD 1647. It is published in a series from issue No. 6 to issue No 9 in 'Kalvettu'. The Ula is a typical 17th century panegery with erotic overtones
130 P.I. 867
131 P.I. 903
132 P.I. 880
133 S.I.I. Volume XIX p. x
134 S.I.I. Volume XIX p. vi
135 On this please see below 'the Study on Irrigation in Pudukottai
136 P.I. 679
137 P.I. 1092 - The allusion is to the mythological story of Bhagiratha who performed penance to make sacred Ganga river descend to earth. As she flowed down with great force and fury, Siva received Her in his locks, and allowed a subdued release of a stream, moderating Her velocity and volume.

APPENDIX A

Laudatory verses in praise of the Pāṇḍyas all on the right-side wall of the second Gōpura entrance in Kuḍumiyāmalai Temple. (P.S.I. Nos. 651-655)

1 தென்னவன் செய்ய பெருமான் திருமதுரை
மன்னவன்றன் மால்களிற்று வல்லிக்கும்-பொன்னி நாட்
டாலிக்குந் தானை அபையன் குலமகளிர்
தாலிக்கு மொன்றே தலை

2 பொன்னி வளநாடு பாணன் பெறப்புரந்தான்
சென்னிதிரு மார்பிற்சேல் தீட்டினான்-முன்னே
புறமெறிவார் மண்சுமக்கப் பூபாரம் காத்தான்
தரமறியான் மீனவர்கோன் தான்

3 மால்விட்ட படைதுரந்து வடுகெறிந்த
மகதேசன் வடிவேல் வாங்க
கால்விட்ட கதிர்முடிமே லிந்திரனைப்
புடைத்ததுமுன் கடல்போய்வற்ற
வேல்விட்ட தொருதிறலு முகிலிட்ட
தனிவிலங்கும் வெற்பி லேறச்
சேல்விட்ட பெருவலியு மாங்கே
விடநடந்தா னத்தென்னர் கோவே

4 வெற்றுறமுன் வேற்செய்ய கொற்கையர்கோ மான்பரிக்குத்
தோற்றகழல் வளவன்சோ ணாட்டிலேற்றும்
புகையாற், குவளையாம், பூங்குமுதம்
புண்ணீர் கயாற்றிற்சேர் கழுநீராம்.

5 கன்னி வளனாடன் காவேரி னாடாளச்
சென்னி விழுந்தோடுஞ் சேவடிகள்-பொன்(இ)ரை
யெரிகாலுங் கான்நடந் திச்சென் னியையுங்
கரிகால னுக்கிடவோ காண்

nallūr in a Padaipparru in Pulivalam excluding the earlier tax-free grants to gods and men. The ayacut was identical with Ēnappaṭṭi (3 miles or 5 kilometres to the north of Tirumeyyam on the road to Pudukkottai-V.No. 72). Pulivalam was about a mile east of Ēnappaṭṭi

In Saka 1383 (A.D. 1461-62), Avaiyāṇḍār *alias* Sundara-pāṇḍya Vijayālayadēvar instituted a service in his name on his birthday to Tirumeyyamalaiyāḷar when the Lord would have food-offerings served as the sweet nectar taken at the floods (and graced the world). *Innamuda Veḷḷam Eḻundaruḷināppōlē Amudu Seidaruḷum Taḷigāi onrukku.*) The phrase distinctly recalled the line in Tirumangai Āḻvār's Periyatirumaḍal (V. 2674 - 1. 126) (*Tirumeyyattu Innamuda Veḷḷattai*).

Provision was made for cooked rice, ghee, curry, salt, pepper, leaves to serve, and betel and nuts, and sandal, flowers and cloth apparel, and other condiments. The land the proceeds of which were endowed were in the Padaiparru in the nāḍu, in Ilañjārpuravu in Rāhuttamīṇḍān-vayal *alias* Sundara-pāṇḍyanallūr as Sarvamānya.[21] This ayacut lay about 2 to 2½ miles (or 4 kilometres) due east of Tirumeyyam on the road to Arimaḷam. (The villages are now called Elanjavūr - Rāhuttampaṭṭi-village No. 70).

The earlier tax-free grants to gods and men were exempted; but the Paccai - a concessional collection of sheaves of paddy, or in money in lieu there of was made payable to the Tirumeyyam Temple as was the vogue in Irunjirai, and Perundurai.

In Saka 1444 (A.D. 1522-23), when Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya was reigning in Vijayanagar, on the Makara (January month) Sankramāṇa day, Cellappa Vīranarasinga Irāya-nāyakkar granted all residual lands in Tirumeyyam which were classified as State-lands. (*Bhaṇḍāra vāḍaiyāha kiḍantha nilam*) to the two deities, Perumāḷ Aḻagiya Meyyar, and Tirumeyyadēvar (Siva Temple) in this Dēvadāna-Brahmadēsa village, excluding all earlier charitable and religious grants. The ancient customary share of the two temples fixed in A.D. 1245 by the Great Settlement at ⅗ for Visṇu Temple, and ⅖ for Siva shrine, was adopted in apportioning the proceeds.

The usage of the term "Bhaṇḍāra-Vāḍa" to denote "government lands" in this inscription was interesting. "Vāḍa" (Maharashtrian) in the sense of 'pertaining to' or 'belonging to' has been rendered as

'vāḍai'[22] in Tamiḻ. Also these latter-day grants termed "*Sarva-mānyam*" could be undertood as assignments of revenue than of land itself.

In A.D. 1669 (Saka 1591) on Sankrānti day an early morning service called 'Raghunātha avasaram'[23] was instituted by Sōlaiyappa Piḷḷai's son (Gangaipāṇḍiya Pillai?) residing at Vānara-Vīran-madurai (Manāmadurai) apparently an agent serving the Rāmanāthapuram Chieftain, Tirumalai Sētupati Kātta Daḷavai Raghunāthanarēndran. The lands were in Kōṭṭaiyūr ayacut and not yet brought under cultivation and lying waste, over-grown with scrub jungle. These were purchased from the Brahmins (Mahājana) and Veḷḷālas and other right-holders, and occupancy tenants, the lands were reclaimed and renamed as Raghunāthapuram. After assigning 1 mā as Dēvādāyam to the Visṇu Temple in Kōṭṭaiyūr, and for Brahmins for serving as apothecary and as astrologers, and after deducting Kuḍivāram, the mēlvāram and Kaḍamai were to be collected by an authorised Paradēsi (Paradēsi Muttaraiyāha) and the service was to be rendered to Aḻagiya Meyyar. If any dispute arose, the temple authorities and the sectarian leaders and Kōṭṭaiyūr ūrār were together to meet and remove any hindrance that might occur in the execution of the charity. Four days later (Saka 1591, Tai 5th day) the Tirumeyya-malayaḷār temple authorities sold to Sōlaiyyappa piḷḷai Gangayarayar piḷḷai a temple-endowed land[24] Malukkanvayal, excluding some lands under earlier enjoyment of Gangaipāḍiya Piḷḷai and others. The sale price was Tirugōkarṇam Minnal Paṇam 300, received in one lump or packet (Oru Kiḻippaḍa). This vendee was to administer Raghunatha Avasara Kaṭṭalai in the early morning and to receive for his own service three measures of rice from the Temple. He was also given one house-site to the south of Malaipperumāḷ's house, and to the north of Vēngai Kuḷamisvaratiruvīdi.

In Rowdri year (Saka year was lost), a Brahmin of Maḻanāṭṭu Valara Kausika Gōtra, Āsvalāyana Sūtra, by name Tirumalainādan, son of Rāmanātha Bhaṭṭan and others had purchased some occupied holdings in the ayacut Kūthāṇḍa-vayal alias Meyyamaṇavāḷanallūr. Of the lands purchased 4 mā lands were excluded as Dhamadāna, and the rates for the remaining lands for the crops actually taken roots and standing were specified. The portion specifiying the rates was

damaged. For dry lands the rent due was 1/3 of the assessment for crops coming up for payment of land dues. Similarly only 1/3 of the cash levy for the cultivators who had taken house-sites and residence in the natham-site was to be collected. This was a concessional levy of rents and dues made by order of the Deity, perhaps, in recognition of the grantee's services,[25] which were unspecified.

In Jaya year (Āni month), the Temple Treasury executives gave the occupancy rights (Kāṇiyātchi Pramāṇam) to Munisandai Taṭṭān Viran Vīra Baṇḍa Ācāri's son Tirumēni Vīra Pāṇḍya Ācāri, and Arangulavan Meyyamaṇavāḷa Ācāri, and others. The land in which the occupancy rights were granted were Tiruviḷakkuppuram land Taḍimuṟṟu in the Dēvadāna of Kōvīnjavayal.[26] Partly this was for services rendered. They had submitted two Tavaḷai Sangu (conches) and one Dārai (a shower-plate) as Tirumunkāṇikkai, as their offerings to the lord. In lieu of the wages for the balance of work, the land was conferred on them with occupancy rights. They had to complete and comply with all the services, and works they might be commissioned to do.

The signatories-Bhaṭṭas were :
Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷa Bhaṭṭan
Meyyatamarnda-perumāḷ Bhaṭṭan
Meyyamaṇavāḷa Bhaṭṭan
Karuṇākara Bhaṭṭan
The Nāṭṭu......Kāryam Pallavarayan
Bhaṇḍāra Kāryam Seyadiparayan
One other signatory's name was mutilated

The last record was of the Rowdri year.[27] This enjoined that the Dēvadāna Irunjiṟai village shall defray the expenses for renovation works in the Temple, and this shall be supervised by Daḷavāis Vayyappanāyakkar who was the agent (for the affairs) of Tirumappanayakkar and the temple treasury executives. The renovation works were to be implemented by a (non-Brahmin Vaisṇava) Meyyamaṇavāḷadāsar, and his successor-disciples (Dāsarāha)

A Sum-up

Tirumeyyam dated back to the 7th century. Its nucleus was the common rock-cut shrines for Siva and Visṇu, the latter in two poses, one in a standing pose and named Satyamūrti, and the other reclining

on Ādisēsa *(Kaṇvaḷarndaruḷina)*. Even as early as in 9th century a dēvadāna village of Aṇḍakkuḍi was granted for services.

The place was celebrated in nine stanzas of the hymns sung by Tirumangai-Āḻvār in Periya Tirumaḍal. But there was no specific allusion or 'local colouring' that could be traced in these stanzas. The rock-cut Anantasāyi was a majestic, powerful, and striking a sculpture that could inspire many an imagery in poetic fancy. But there was no specific reference even to this pose of Visṇu in the verses. But later inscriptions make pointed reference to some of the phrasings in these verses.

There was a gap in evidence from the 11th to 13th century but a few Cōḻa inscriptions were noticed in between. The township was described as Dēvadāna-Brahmadēya in Kānanāḍu alias Vṛdarāja-bhayankara Vaḷanāḍu.The Township was both endowed for the temple, and contained grants for Brahmin residents. Mēlūr, about 4 kilometres to its west, was the township predominantly of agriculturists, and the Ūrār had much in common in administering the lands and endowments of this temple with the Sabhayār of Tirumeyyam. Even so, the Brahmin residents were predominently the temple priests, and those of other social groups appear to be rather sparse.

Schisms had developed and Vaisṇavite and Saivite beliefs and rituals had branched off into two separate courses. As the temples were carved cheek by jowl out of rock, and several endowments were common, friction in observing rituals and in administering the proceeds from the endowments had arisen. The Nāḍu residents had in the prevailing confusion appropriated to themselves such land-dues or shares of produce as were due to the temples. These were set right by a Great Assembly of all concerned meeting in the august presence of Appaṇṇa, a Hoysala General who had captured the tract in A.D. 1245. This settlement not only demarcated the respective and separate limits of the two temples, but also apportioned the lands where feasible by metes and bounds and fixed the ratio of title and enjoyment at three parts to the Visṇu temple and 2 parts to the Siva temple. The Great Settlement was followed by further arbitration of lingering claims between the two temples, as when lands were allocated for 'piper service' in the Siva temple on the basis of an award given by Tiruvēngaḍa Nambi. The ratio laid down in the A.D. 1245 was followed

when further grants were made three hundred years later, out of the residual government lands with their proceeds in Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's time to the two temples.

The Sabhayār were under an obligation to implement the agreed or consensus of decisions reached by the Nāḍu and other Group-participants. They had the full details of lands comprised within the township, and the unoccupied lands held in common.

Land parcels were too small and could have been somewhat uneconomic. There were many instances of private enjoyers giving up the lands to become part of village common. In their very nature they were less productive or marginally fertile lands or small parcels lying interspersed with other occupied holdings. The Sabhayār were the custodians of such reverted or relinquished holdings which they either granted as tax-free for services in the temple or periodically allowed cultivation on the payment of the stipulated terms of rent. Predominently the lands were in private holdings. Only village commons whether arable or pastural vested with the Sabhayār. There were, however, instances where lands belonging to several enjoyers were not divided by metes and bounds but were interspersed and the produce alone was shared in the ratio of eligible enjoyment. (*Nilam Kalanda*)

Private holdings with occupancy had existed in the lands of Dēvadāna tenure. The temple was entitled to the State's share of land dues and numerous other levies and obligations that the land-holders had to bear to the State which were assigned to the temple, besides those due to the Nāḍu and the Sabhā. The dues payable to the Nāḍu and the Sabha could also be, likewise, assigned, to the temple or other charities. There were, of course, instances where the individual himself made endowments out of his own share of land-income agreeing to bear the dues payable to the State, the Nāḍu or the Sabha. Even the temple lands with the State's share of land dues assigned to it, had to bear some customary obligations (paccai) usually rendered at the time of Āḍi or Kārtikai month to the township or in cash in lieu thereof.

The pattern of land dues was thus one of inter-mixed rights and obligations with customary dues payable to the State or its assignees, to the Nāḍu, and to the Ūr or the Sabha. The characteristics of

the pluralistic forms of land tenurial obligations are described in a further study below.

Even if the principal tenure of the land be Dēvadāna, tenants with occupancy rights had existed. They could sell and, transfer their subsisting rights or endow them for charitable purposes. Munayadaraiyan of Mēlūr, apparently an influential agriculturist leader of society in that village did so, partitioned a portion of his ancestral properties with the subsisting rights and obligations including a house-site, and eight slaves and settled them on his son. These properties in Mēlūr village were of Dēvadāna tenure belonging to the Visṇu temple therein. The son had to render the stipulated obligations to the temples concerned. This he did apparently to be free to marry another girl from outside the tract from near Aḻagarkōil in Mel-Iraṇiyamuṭṭam Nāḍu. He had no money to defray the marriage expenses, which the bridegroom had to bear, and for the jewellery he had to present to the bride which was over 2-3/4 times the marriage expenses. He hence sold some more lands to the bride's brother in Tirumeyyam village, among others. These transactions would normally have been looked askance at by the Ūrār or the Sabhayār unless the vendor was so influential as to have his way. The respective obligations of the transferees to the temples, the main tenure-holder of the respective villages were reiterated.

The temple itself could even make the grant of Kārāṇmai rights from its own endowments to reward artisans for the services rendered to the temple or collect land dues at concessional rate from others like the Brahmin vendee of Maḻanāḍu.

From the 14th century to the 16th, the Sūraikkuḍi Thēvars were the principal chieftains who held this tract. They had risen to prominence and power, and several members of the family had donated lands. They were purchasers of the Pāḍikkāval rights, that is, they had watch and ward functions sold or conferred on them, together with the land set apart and other rights. The Township or the Nāṭṭār had themselves sold their collective rights and obligation towards watch and ward to them as a recognition of their growing authority or to purchase peace with them, or appease potential trouble-makers.

The Vijayālaya Thēvars of Sūraikkuḍi instituted special services

in their names for which additional land-dues were assigned in the neighbouring ayacuts within 5 to 8 kilometres radius. Services were added, and food-offerings provided sumptuously.

The traditions were continued by the Sētupatis of Rāmanāthapuram and other Nayak chieftains in the 17th century. Unreclaimed lands were purchased from earlier owners, like the Brahmin grantees (*Mahājanam*), and reclaimed and proceeds endowed for festivals. There were special executants appointed for collecting the rentals and for implementing such services in the temple. To enable them to discharge the functions, the temple even sold the house-sites for them to take residence in Tirumeyyam. Alternatively, the Dāsars, or devoted Vaiṣṇavites were entrusted with the supervision and execution of repairs, and maintenance of temple buildings. In a few other cases the temple officials in charge of the treasury were seen to administer the temple endowments and lands.

But this evidence was significant in its negative aspect, The functions so discharged by individual executives appointed for each service or grant or function were precisely those attended to in earlier times under the collective supervision and responsibility of the Sabhayār of the township together with the temple priests, the Sri Vaiṣṇavas and Mahēsvaras The. Brahmin residents who constituted the Sabhā earlier and who were residents in the village came to be now termed in general as 'Mahājanam', a term of honorofix. An organisation of residents, solicitous to the communal needs, administering the unoccupied lands, and receiving deposits for payment of land-dues on charitable and religious endowments and as a custodian of public endowments, supervising the fulfilment of their purpose, and active in the township affairs for ages, fades out of evidence from about the 16th and 17th centuries.

1 Dr. R. Nagaswami has given a succinct account of the Siva-Visnu Temple at Tirumeyyam (pp. 131-134 of his Studies in ancient Tamil Law & Society, 1978).

2 P. I. 5 There is an identical inscription in Malaiyakkovil in Tirumeyyam Taluk.

3 P. I. 4 and S.I.I. Vol. XXIII No. 153. p. 123.

4 P. I. 13

5 *Verses*: Periyatirumoli- (a) 1090, (b) 1206, (c) 1524, (d) 1660.

(e) 1760, (f) 1852, (g) 2016; Tirukuruntandagam - (h) v. 2050· Periyatirumadal (g) v. 2674 - (1. 126).

6 ARE 391/1906 Also: 403/1906. Fragment.

7 390/1916.

I am indebted to Shri K. G. Krishnan, Chief Epigraphis who has very kindly and promptly furnished me with copies of the texts of these unpublished inscriptions.

8 P. I. 340, 341

9 *P. I. 472* The reference is apparently to a common practice in villages to ascertain Divine will in inconclusive cases. Two packets containing flower of different colours or containing flower in one, and *darba* in another are placed in the two hands of the Deity and after worship and prayers, the priest with his closed eyes takes out one and the particular averment of which the token was picked up is held to be sustained and the award given on that basis

10 Please see P-I. 459 Also

11 P.I. 340

12 P.I. 439–for further details please see "Padikkaval" below.

13 P.I. 459. This is on the south wall of Visnu Temple a Melur in Tirumeyyam Tq.

14 P.I. 460

15 P.I. 685; 801
P.I. 440-Melur

16 P.I. 467

17 P.I. 440

18 P.I. 680

19 P.I, 764

20 P.I. 792

21 P.I. 800

22 P.I. 735

23 P.I. 872

24 P.I. 873

25 P.I. 893

26 P.I. 923

27 P.I. 967

IRRIGATION IN PUDUKKOTTAI INSCRIPTIONS

I Introduction

This study has gathered and analysed data available on Irrigation from ancient times in the Pudukkoṭṭai Tract, as gleaned from the published inscriptions.

In a study of this nature, chronology is only of significance to note evolution and development of practices. It is adhered to, as far as possible, consistently with the analytical frame of presentation. For one thing, irrigation modes, rights, and practiccs were rooted in customary usage and prescription, and were seldom allowed to be changed unless under compelling circumstances, or the custom had become defunct or incapable of performance. As such, there is a remarkable consistency in the rights and usages evidenced throughout the time-spread of this study.

II Meteorology

The tract lies[1] between the parallels of 10° 7' and 11° 4' North Latitude and between the meridians of 78° 25' and 79° 12' East Longitude, with an area of 1178 sq. miles, and comprises the Taluks of Kulattūr, Ālangudi and Tirumeyyam in Pudukkōṭṭai District..

The lie of the country is characterised by flat plains in the east, and is intersected by streams and low hills in the west from which they gather surface drainage and there are also hills in the south. The Veḷḷār is the longest stream in this area rising from Vēḷamalai and flows through Kulattūr and Ālanguḍi Taluks. It is torrential in its flows during the monsoon, suddenly rising in freshes as high in volume as short in duration.

The Pāmbāṟu .is the next big stream carrying the surplus of Perundurai Tank, emptying itself into Tāmaraikkanmoi near Tirumeyyam and, flowing thence south eastwards it joins the Veḷḷār.

The Agniāṟu, the Mahārājasamudram river, and the Ambuliyāṟu, Kōraiyāṟu, Śūraiāṟu and Maṇimuktānadi are other streams draining the area. All these streams usually receive freshes more in the

Northeast Monsoon in October to December. The average rainfall is nearly 35 inches[2] (88.90 cm.)

Because of the absolute dependence on monsoons the area is prone to the paradoxical effects of drought when rainfall is insufficient, and to paroxysms of floods when the monsoon abetted by cyclones is too active, and the streams suddenly get in spate-both affecting steady conditions of irrigation needed for sustained cultivation. Tanks are numerous, and present a wide network, created to impound water to the optimum, and conserve drainage. But the channels draw water from open-heads on the streams and hence breaches to the channels and the tanks they feed are as heavy as frequent; even so, due to the ill-distributed rainfall drought and famine are also oft-repeated visitations. This ill-distribution also leads to lack of adequate fillings, and tanks, even because they are small and dependent on rain, need two or three fillings in a year to sustain the crop to maturity. The precarious nature of tank supply has also led to the wide resort to supplemental irrigation from wells.

III Epigraphic reference to floods, breaches, drought and famine

Inscriptions are replete with references to the breaches to the tanks and the consequent abandonment of tanks and ayacuts, the latter being overgrown with bushes and trees. Reclamation efforts were repeatedly undertaken[3]. They also speak of the incapacity to pay land dues *kaḍamai* due to drought and lands rendered fallow. It was not enough if cultivation was committed but crops had to be sustained, and had to be matured for harvest. Land dues were, particularly under rain-fed and dry cultivation, relatable to the actual yield (*Payir viḷainda-nilattukku*) and on an assessment of the crop (*Payir Pārttu*) or whether there were floods or crop failure due to drought (*Veḷḷaccāvi, Veṇcāvi*) in the Cōḷa and medieval Pāṇḍya periods.

The grant of lands in ancient times to Brahmins and Temples as Brahmadēya and Dēvadāna was itself an effective instrument for reclaiming forest or waste and constructing tanks. But in this tract because of the scanty rain fall this was not often achieved. Indeed the number of Brahmadēyas itself seems to be comparatively few.

Land measuring 3 *mā mukkāni* sold for 5 *kāśu* by the Perunguṛi Sabhā of Vikramakēsari-Caturvēdimangalam was unreclaimed waste (*kāḍu*) and tanks were breached (*uḍaikuḷam*) ever since the village had

been costituted as a *Brahmadēya.*[4] So too, the lands in Tiruvirayānkudi had not seen crops raised thereon ever since it was granted as Dēvadāna till date. (*Innālvarayilum cella payir senṛaṛiyāda*).[5] Mūvanēri tank and ayacut which were held as village common (*ūr-podu*) were an old *Dēvadāna* grant. They were sold, as the tank had breached, and arable lands were lying waste, in public auction by the ūrār of Punnangudi.[6] The Nagarattār of Telinga-kula kālapuram *alias* Kulōttunga Cōḻa-Paṭṭinam sold to a merchant, Paḻavūruḍaiyān Periyān uḍayān *alias* Periadēvan land which was full of surface rubble, and stone and over grown with high grown trees, and high grounds and waste (*Mēkkallu Malayum, Perumarakkāḍāi Tiṭṭum, Tiḍalumāy-Kiḍanta*). The vendee excavated the tanks, cut the forests, removed the stumps, and levelled the land[7]. The Māhēsvaranallūr Tank in Ollaiyūr-mangalam, a dēvadāna tank had breached, and its ayacut was lying waste[8]. Two more Dēvadana tanks, *Iramanēri* kuḷam and (*Ta*)*natoḍukuḻikuḷam* in the same village had breached, and the ayacuts were waste, over-grown with trees, and the field bunds had been erased and there was no cultivation. (*Kuḷamum Vayalum Uḍai Kuḷm-Pāḻāi Vayalum Varambaḻindu Tariśāi, Kāḍāi Neḍunguḷam Payirśeivār Inṛikkiḍakayil*).[9] The Taṭṭār Kuḷam, the Dēvadāna Tank endowed for Kuḍumiyāmalai temple had breached and the tank bund had been destroyed and the lands were lying waste with no field bunds and with trees overgrown for long.[10] The ūrār of Tirunalakunṛam, the temple authorities and the Nāṭṭār sold them for reclamation of land, and reconstruction of tank. The same ūrār sold for 21 varāhan pon in public auction Śāraivayal, another breached tank and its ayacut, lying waste for long for reclamation.[11] The ūrār of Virayāccilai, sold to a benefactor, Tirumālirumjōlai Tādar Śōthi-āḻvār their cultivable land in another Sāraivayal as it was a long waste (mudunilattariśu), the tank having breached.[12]

There were also other instances, in which due to inability to pay land dues, the ūrar sold the holdings of defaulters who had fled Sevalūr village.[13] Similarly the Kuḷappaṭṭi, a land held by Āḻvān dēvan of Viśalūr was sold by the ūrār as the royal servants demanded the dues which were paid neither by Āḻvandēvan nor by his agnates on his behalf.[14] In A.D. 1465, the ūrār of Mēlūr lamented that as there were no rains, they could not subsist due to famine conditions (Maḻayum

Inṛi Pañjakālamāyyārrāda - paḍiyāle) and entrusted the village as Pāḍikkāval and sold the rights thereof for 500 śakkaraippaṇam.[15]

These instances would suffice to graphically depict the effects of flood and drought to which the area was prone. Consequently, reclamation of lands, renovation of tanks, together with supplemental sources of irrigation received repeated and frequent emphasis. Inscriptions echoed and reechoed the auction hoots-once, twice, thrice, of the urar, the nagarattar, the sabhayar and the nāṭṭār and the Temple authorities to sell in public market places (Vilaiāvaṇa-kaḷam) tanks and ayacuts fallen into disuse in order to get them restored. They also brought out the ingenuity with which the available water resources had to be harnessed and the varied forms of irrigation sources and modes in practice.

IV Types and modes of irrigation sources evidenced

Inscriptions refer to the different kinds of irrigation sources in vogue - open - head channels taking off from streams like Veḷḷār,[16] tanks which were either channel-fed or rain-fed, ēmbals[17] which collected the surface drainage from foreshore uplands, wells, kuḻi[18] or pits and ponds collecting water, and ūraṇi which were mostly used as drinking water sources for the township.

Surface flow was the predominant mode but where water could not flow by gravity, lifting by picottahs[19] from channels and baling from wells were resorted to; wells were widely sunk. In a few instances lands were also irrigated from more than one source, that is, from joint sources,[20] presumably because the supply from any one source would have been insufficient, or because it could not be had for the entire duration of supply needed. In such cases water from a flanking source in addition was taken, and in rare cases even from the surplus course of the tank, depending on field commandability. Lands in the foreshore of the tanks also raised crops with the moisture of the water-spread below, and sometimes water was taken from the supply channel but such cases should have been restricted, as the interests of the tank ayacut were overriding. A land purchased[21] by a native of Sikhānallūr had the seepage water (ūral) of three tanks surrounding it. It had the water spreads to its east, west and to its north. These various modes are further dealt with in detail below.

V Irrigation sources : their construction and renovation

Pre-Cola period

The earliest inscription was from Nārttāmalai which recorded the construction of the sluice in Animata-ēri by one Tamiḻadiyaraiyan *alias* Mallan Viḍaman. The sluice (Kumiḷi) was done by the (stone) mason (Taccan) Soṇanariyan for which a land (Kumili-ttudaval.......kulaccy) was granted[22]. A sunai (spring or tarn) was excavated at Ammankuricci by Iḍaitti Śāttan Kurundi[23]. A stone sluice was constructed by Pullaya Kaḍamban, son of Sri Āritam Pullan in the 25th year of Pallava Nandipōttarayar (A.D. 756) in Rāsālipaṭṭi Village[24]. In the 5th year of Pallava Dantipōttarayar (801 A.D.) Vāli Vaḍugan *alias* Kalimūṛkka Iḷavaraiyan, who was the vassal or subordinate (Aḍiyān) of Mārapiḍuvinar *alias* Pēradi Araiyar caused a tank to be excavated and named it after himself (Vāli Ēri) in Kunnāṇḍar kōil[25].

Cola period

In the 4th year of Rājakēsarivarman provision appears to have been made in Veḷḷanūr by deposit of paddy with the Sabhayār so that the interest proceeds therefrom could be used for maintaining two sources, the Periyakuḷam and Pūḷanguḷam by the Sabhayār; Veḷḷainallūr Uḍaiyan Mūvēnda Vēḷān made this provision[26].

In the 9th year of Rājakēsarivarman Arikulakāla Brahmādirāyan *alias* Karañjai Nambipirān Kramavittan, a Brahmin of Mēr Kiḷḷimangalam, a Brahmadēya of Tenkarai Tiruvaḻundūrnāḍu in Sōnāḍu gave as tax-free grant (Iṛaiyili) for maintaining the Kavirkuḷam Tank (as Kuḷappaṭṭi) in Tenkavināṭṭu Tiruveṭpūr certain lands under the big sluice of that tank itself whieh he had purchased and the sale-deed was also deposited with the Nāṭṭār of Ten-Kavirnāḍu, and this endowment was to be protected by the Nāṭṭār[27].

An inscription built into the bund of Neruñjikkuḍi Tank recorded that in the 15th year of Cōḷa Parakēsarivarman an endowment of paddy was made by Ponnāṇḍaḍi of Uḷakkuḍi in Kunṛirukkaināḍu of Pāṇḍi Nāḍu from the interest-dues of which the Ūrār of Neruñjikkuḍi had agreed to maintain the tank in that village in Ollaiyūr-Kūṛṛam and to excavate/deepen the waterspread.[28]

In the next year, Kallambalāṇḍavan of Māvalūr village in Muttūṛṛukūṛṛam in Pāṇḍināḍu gave 10 kaḻañju of gold from the

annual interest of which the same tank was to be excavated/deepened to improve the receipt of water in the tank-bed[29]. There was a similar grant by another donor to the same tank in the 36th year of Kō-Parakēsarivarman[30].

In the 20th year of the Parakēsarivarman a tank had been named in Muniyandai in Kāṇa-nāḍu after the merchant guild, Tiśai-Āyirattu Aññūṟuvar. The Valañjiyar-Aññūṟuvar, the merchant body deposited two kāśu from the annual interest of which the tank was to be maintained[31] Fourteen years later, Mantraiāccan-muṭṭi deposited 2 kāśu for maintaining the same tank with the ūrār, out of which 1 kāśu was to be spent for excavating two big depressions (kuḻi) in the tank-bed apparently to improve depth and holding capacity and command. For the same purpose, the garrison-leader (Peruñjār Paḍaittalaivan), Paṇaiyan-kūṟṟan gave 2 kāśu to the ūrār. Another grant of 2 kāśu for the same purpose was given by Piḍāran Kāri of Peruñjār (garrison) for the merit of his sons, Kāri Māṟan, and Kāri Seppuli[32]. A calingula was constructed to a tank in Irumbāḷi in Tenkavināḍu[33].

These two tanks, one at Muniśandai and the other at Neruñjikkuḍi (Tirumeyyam Taluk) dated back to Pallava and early Cōḻa times. Sluices were of stone masonry, what with the easy local availability of granite and the stone scooping and building activity that had received a fillip in Pallava times. Shutters too were made of stone boulders. The tanks needed repeated excavation and the deeper parts of the waterspread (kuḻi) close to the sluices needed constant scooping and deepening or desilting lest the capacity and/or commandability should be affected. Benefactions from royal generals, and garrison-heads of the early Cōḻa times indicate attention paid to the maintenance of these sources. Deposits in cash or in paddy were made with the Nāṭṭār or the Sabha or the ūrār of the Township from the interest proceeds of which the maintenance expenses could be met. Was this any indication that the miscellaneous revenue seasonally gathered after the irrigation period was inadequate or that the customary labour could not extend to such improvements but could be demanded only for periodical maintenance? Sources constructed by the munificence of private individuals and chieftains were at once gratefully and flatteringly named after such donors or donor - bodies like the

merchant-guild (e.g. Vali-eri; Aññūṟṟuvar Tank).

Under Imperial Colas

Further data on the construction, repairs and renovation of sources and their maintenance become available, as the inscriptions of the Imperial Cōḻa period have a characteristic penchant for details. A record of the 28th year of Rājarāja I (A.D. 1013) enumerates the various grants, and endowments for the different services, food offerings and daily requirements of the temple of Mahādēvar in Tiruvirayānkuḍi. In doing so, care was taken to reclaim lands and renovate tanks.[33] The field channels which occur in the description of land boundaries indicate that they were either named after the gods, Paramēśvara, or Caṇḍēśvara, or after the ruler and noblemen as Vikramakēsari, or Uttama Cōḻa Vayakkal. The vendees sometimes renamed the channel after themselves.

The ayacut and tank named "Nūṟṟuvēli" was breached and overgrown with bushes and trees, and the temple servants of Tiruvirayānkuḍi requested the Perunguṟi Sabhā of Vikramakēsari-Caturvēdimangalam to repair the tank and reclaim the land. The Sabhayār after causing the big drum to be beaten to announce and gather their constituents, met in full strength on the bund of tank itself (Ikkuḷakkaraiyile Perunguṟiyāka Kuṟaivaṟakkūḍi) and gave detailed instructions, item by item of the works (Paṇippaṇiyāl Paṇittu) and caused the restoration of the tank and its ayacut and sold the land as (iṟaiyili) tax-free. The ayacut was renamed as Pāsūr Nangainallūr after the mother of the Commander-in-chief, Uttama Cōḻa Nallūr Uḍaiyān Pālūr (Pāsūr ?) Ambalattāḍi *alias* Muḍikoṇḍa-Cōḻa-Viḻupparaiyan and the tank was renamed as Attāṇi-Pēṟēri.[33]

When a temple for Sri Sundararāja was consecrated at Irumbānāḍu and the deity was named after the local chieftain Aḷagu-Kaṇḍa-Perumāḷ *alias* Adalaiyūr Nāḍāḷvān, the chieftain gave 2½ mā of land, irrigated by the tanks, the ēmbals, and uraṇies in the 33rd year of Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa I (1103 A.D.)[34].

In the 47th year of Kulōttunga I (A. D. 1116) it was recorded that a sluice was constructed by one of the Chief(Mudali) Arayas-Mummḍi Cōḻa Singalāntaka Muttarayar to the tank of Kōṭṭūr (near Malaiyakōil) and he set up a stone. The sluice fell into disrepair, and had

fallen into disuse. This was repaired and reconstructed by an Arayar of Kōṭṭūr, Arayan Periyān Uṭkara Kaṇḍan *alias* Kulōttunga Cōḻa Kanakarājan.[35]

A merchant, Parappūruḍayan *alias* Kūttan Tiruccirāppaḷḷi uḍayān *alias* Aḷakarkōn of Vikrama Cōḷapperumteru purchased the old dēvadāna of Marutanguḍi Tenvayal Kuḍikkāḍu and reclaimed it and renamed it after his father as Kūttan Kuḍikkāḍu and excavated a tank for defraying the expenses for the service to the goddess in the Śiva temple in Nānguppaṭṭu[36].

A record of the 24th year of Kulōttunga III (1202 A.D.) was important. It was a covenant of the ūrār of Kīranūr of Vaḍa-Siruvayalnāḍu that they should not cause any destruction to the tanks, the trees on their bunds, wells in the fields, and the wells in the hills and the trees thereon during any strife or quarrel and feuds that might arise among them leading to altercation and deterioration in the relations among them. Anyone who caused destruction to a well among them shall endow a penalty of ½ *mā* of his own holding to the temple of Uthamadānīśvara. If the trees were cut, similarly ½ *kāṇi* of land, and if any destroyed the picottah stands (*ēttu marangaḷ*) *Kāni śey*. They also undertook not to destroy any surplus courses (*Puravāri*) of field channels, wells, young and big mango trees in any area they entered. Any transgressor was to give the specified extent of land as penalty.[37]

This was a clear recognition of public utilities and assets, which, if destroyed, would cause general ruin, not only for those responsible for such wanton acts of mischief but to the community. Besides they could not be reared or created with the speed with which they could be damaged or destroyed. But the clear enunciation of the express prohibition and the penalty for transgression carried with it the suggestion that the mad orgy of feuds among the ūrār or other factions would sometimes not spare even public utilities. There was evidence, in the inscriptions themselves, of such feuds leading to bloodshed, mischief, and arson.[38]

In the 35th year of Vīra Cōḻa, a merchant of Aruvimānagar, Tirumāṇikiḻār-dēven Umaiorupāgan had installed a deity Umāpatēsvara in Śāttanur in Ollaiyūr-Kūṟṟam and he purchased from the ūrār and reclaimed three ayacuts, two tanks, and one pond (*kuḻi*), *viz* : Moy-

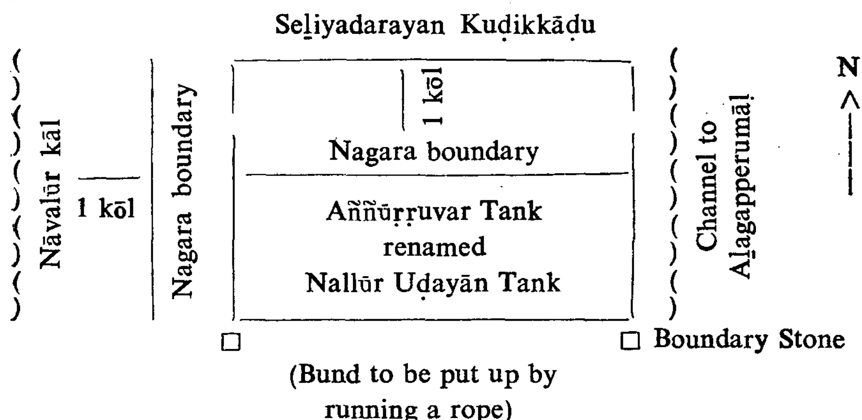
moḻiyā kuḷam and ayacut, Ponnan-kuḷam and ayacut and Muttāṇḍiyār ayacut and a pond (*kuḻi*) and endowed them for the upkeep of the service of the newly installed deity[39].

With the change of rulers, the tanks and their ayacuts had also undergone changes in ownership or in their supplies. One such instance occurred in the 15th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya (circa A.D. 1268). In Visalur in Annavāyil Kūṟṟam some ayacut lands had been for long overgrown with jungle and trees, and kaḍamai and other dues were lost. The Nāṭṭār of Iraṇḍu-karaināḍu supplicated the chieftain Vaippūr Uḍaiyār who had captured the territory (Nāḍu-piḍitta) that the tank might be renovated, bunds relaid, and the waters of the Veḷḷār might be diverted (*Veḷḷāṟṟaiyum kuḷattil vilakkikkuḍuttu*) and that he might undertake cultivation with the lands held as his personal estate (*paṇṇai*) and remit the kaḍamai dues to the temple of Tirunalakunṟam (Kuḍumiyāmalai). While this arrangement was in vogue there was a change of rule when Vāṇādarāyan and Uḍaiyār Kāṅgēyar had recaptured the territory. They directed from the 14th year of (Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya) i.e. A. D. 1267, that the ūrār should themselves hold the lands as ūrpuravu (ayacut or fields held by the township) and in proportion to the total holdings (*Puravu Viḻukkāḍuppaḍi*) remit the dues in kind and cash to the ruler. The Ūrār had no means to pay the amount, so determined, and finding no way out (*Vēṟu pokkilāmayāle*) they sold one half of the lands (measuring in all 6 *vēlis*) i.e : 3 *vēlis* - and the corresponding half share (*ittāl vanda*) of 2 tanks and 3 kuḷumi (*sic* for kumiḻi and the same share of the miscellaneous yield of the fisheries (*pāsi pāṭṭam*) for full cultivation under, and appropriation of the proceeds by the temple (*Kōiluḷavu muṟṟūṭṭu*) for *Kāsu* 64,000, of which 4000 *kāsu* was taken by the ūrār, and 10,000 *kāsu* by the nāṭṭār. The nāṭṭār also obtained and gave to the ūrār another 50,000 *kāsu* from the temple treasury, which it had funded for construction of the Temple. The vendors undertook to themselves bear the customary obligation to give unpaid labour (*veṭṭimuṭṭāval*) for the land share sold. The Nāṭṭār undertook to pay all dues in cash and kind for the half share of land sold by the ūrār to the temple.[40]

This case brought out the initiative of the ūrār to reclaim the tank and divert supplies from river Veḷḷār partly to benefit the first con-

queror, Vaippūr Uḍayār and partly for the public charity to the temple from the lands brought back under irrigation and to beneficial cultivation. The high land dues to be borne directly by the township and charged by the changed regime obliged the Urār and the Nāṭṭār to sell half-share of the tanks, sluices, and the lands, and fishery rentals to the temple.

Change in ownership also sometimes resulted in the change in the name of the tanks. Such renaming had, in one instance, to be approved by the king. Veṇṇainallūr Uḍaiyār Tiruccirṟambalam Uḍaiyār purchased from the Nagarattār of Sundarapāṇḍyapuram a tank called Annūṟṟuvan in the 6th year of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (1259 A.D.).[41] It was to the west of the channel flowing to Aḻagapperumāḷ (tank or field). Its southern boundary was to run along a bund to be put up by running a rope from the rearside stone to the Nāvalūr kāl. (*Kayiṟupiḍittu Karai Sumandu Koḷḷavum*) *West*: To the east of Nagara boundary which will be 1 *kōl* off the Nāvalūr Kāl. *North*: Leaving 1 *Kōl* of the Seḻiyadarayan kuḍikkāḍu for the boundary of nagara, thoughtfully, for public easements, to the south thereof: as sketched below.



Was it constructed by the merchant guild or named after it? The vendee renamed it after himself as Nallūr Uḍaiyān, and the Nagarattār planted a stone to mark the change in its ownership and its name. The King, Māṟavarman Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya also ratified the change from the Āvani (August-September) month in his 7th year,

and allowed the name to be inscribed in a stone on the bund, and ordered that the vendee may enjoy all rights as conveyed in the sale-deed by the Nagarattār and also that it be recorded in the temple Agnīśvaramuḍaiyār.[42]

When tanks and ayacuts were sold, the surrounding catchment area of dry lands, the tamarind and mango trees, the water and fisheries and other *svatantrams* and appurtenant rights were also sold. When Sāraivayal, a tank and its water spread were sold, the Virayāccilai ūrār, also conceded that the vendee, Sōthiāḻvār might himself raise the tank bund, while renovating it, and after surveying the maximum water-spread at full level, could plant the boundary stones to delimit the foreshore of the tank and its spread. (*Ikkuḷattil Karai Tamakkuḷ Uyarttikkoṇḍu Nīrēttam Pāttu Muṅkuḷattē kal Nāṭṭikkoḷvārāgavum*). They also permitted him to inscribe on stones planted in the tank and its ayacut his own name.[43]

The same ūrār sold to this Śōthiāḻvār, the waterpond called Paṇaiyan Kuḻi which was 800 feet north-south X 800 feet east-west with the bund. The mango trees planted and reared on the bund were granted as Iṛaiyili to the temple. The channel flowing on the boundary of Perunallūr was to continue to feed the tank. The vendee could store and head-up the water of the channel without allowing it to flow eastwards *Kiḻakkuppōkāmal usaraccumandukoḷḷa kaḍavārāgavum*).[44]

It was rather surprising that the Ūrār should have sold the ūraṇi which was a drinking water source for the township. Perhaps this was for improving it, and for raising its capacity, as Sōthiāḻvār had agreed to do for the irrigation source, Sāravayal. And that would benefit the public.

Similarly a Dēvadāna tank, Tāvaḍivilāgam had inadequate storage and the lands were lying waste. When the Nāṭṭu Vēḷān Sembiyan-Vēḷ purchased the lands for reconstructing the tank, and to endow it to the temple, the Sabhā of Udayadivākara-caturvēdimangalam and the temple authorities permitted him to excavate and construct a tank in all the area which would permit such construction (excluding the already tax-free high level land of about 3 tadis)[45] and to reclaim lands for cultivation.

In a sale of tank and its ayacut it was stipulated that the entire

area where water gathered shall be the area of the water-spread and limits of the tank bed.[46]

In Pulvayal the ūrār agreed to assign Pāḍikkāval in the area called Rājarājapparṟu in return for or in recognition of a tank newly constructed called Umaiyāṇḍi-Ēri for water supply to the Ūr.[47]

While breaches and repairs were generally undertaken by benefactors, chieftains or the township or landholders, in the discharge of tneir customary obligation, occasionally where such breaches were heavy and beyond the capacity of local effort, royal intervention was invoked. In the 18th year of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya (who took all the maṇḍalas) in Mēlattaṇaiyam (Tirumeyyam Taluk) a breach had occurred in an old channel which diverted (*Maṟittu*) water from Silappangarai stream flowing at the southern end of the tank of Vēmbangulam to supply Mēlattaṇaiyum Tank. The ūrār of Nenmali stated that they could not close the breach. On the orders of the King, (Perumāl Aruḷicceyalpaḍi) the temple establishment, the nāḍu, on either side of the bund, the villages, and Pāḍikkāppar (the watch and ward men) all joined together under the leadership of the officials working for Kannappadēvan (a royal officer?). They read the earlier inscription and as per ancient usage, (*Kalveṭṭuppaḍittu anādiyil pōndapadiyilē*) closed the breaches and provided a drainage course for excess freshes to flow down (*Irangalamiṭṭuttanda*).[48] Apparently, responsibility in this case had vested with several villages on either side, some of whom had pleaded individual inability by themselves, each to discharge its own obligation.

Again in the 33rd year of the same ruler, the same channel breached and the breach was closed by the efforts of Arasu Kaḍambarāyar and this benefaction was praised in a verse.[49] Was this a second breach in fifteen years?

In Ānanda year, during the reign of Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār (of Vijayanagar) the temple authorities and the ūrār of Tiruvēngavāsal gratefully gave Pāḍikkāval rights to the ūrār of Irumbāḻi who closed the breaches in Tiruvēngavāsal tank, and repaired the surplus course.[50]

Private benefaction by constructing *ūraṇies* were recorded in Maravāmadurai[51], Sundaram[52], at Kōnāpet[53], Pallavarāyanpaṭṭi[54], Rāngiyam[55] (by the Pudukkottai State ruler) and at Tiruvarangulam[56] or by construction of a well as at Kovalur[57]. Many of these bene-

factors were merchants or their wives or local chieftains, sometimes for the benefit of their overlord, and some of them were also named after the benefactors. Lands for the maintenance of these *ūraṇies* were also endowed by the ūrār, or by the chieftains, such as Visayālaya-dēva of Adirappuli. The *ūraṇies* were, invariably drinking water sources most needed in summer and post-monsoon months, and hence to cut their bunds, or take out water to fields for irrigation or to fish therein were anti-social activities and held as not only an offence but a sacrilage as a Nirpaḻani record explicitly stated[58].

VI. Maintenance of irrigation sources.

Maintenance, even more than construction, was necessary and careful provision was made therefor, either by endowments in cash or in kind, the capital to remain in tact and the interest proceeds from which were utilised to defray maintenance expenditure. There were also specific grants of land for such maintenance (Kuḷappaṭṭi) which were excluded from subsequent grants or assignments of lands.[59]

A Rājakēsarivarman inscription (in fragment) - 4th year - seems to record a grant by one Tensiruvāgilnāṭṭu Veḷḷai-nallūruḍaiyān Kalikaṇḍa Sembiyan *alias* Surivayal-nāṭṭu Mūvēndavēḷān for maintenance of two tanks - Pūlānguḷam (20 *kalams*) and Periyakuḷam (30 *kalams*) in all 50 *kalams* from the annual interest-proceeds of which the Sabhayār were to maintain the source)[60]. For maintaining the Sembāṭṭūr tank in Kuḷamangalanāḍu, the Ūrār of Sembāṭṭūr, the Arayar of Koraikkuricci and the Arayar of Puttappūr joined together and each constituent gave a third share to make a total *Mākāṇi* land. The annual executive (*Āṇḍarkan*) might entrust the cultivation to the tenants of his choice, supervise the yield and from the mēlvāram yield the tank-bed should be deepened, and the earthwork done should be got measured and accounted for to the Nāṭṭukkaṇakku.[61]

In Saka 1227 (A.D. 1305), Ānandakkūttan of Kalasamangalam renovated the Dēvadāna tank, and reclaimed the lands, levelling them. When the endowment of the lands reclaimed was made for the temple needs, $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* (16$\frac{1}{2}$ cents) of land was set apart as Kuḷappuṟam and the yield therefrom was to be appropriated for earthwork excavation of the tank-bed. The tank was also named after the donor.[62]

The fishery rentals (*Pāsip pāṭṭam*) when the tank water receded,

and at the end of the irrigation season, were annually auctioned and the proceeds were also appropriated in whole or in part for the maintenance of the sources. The Alisilkudikkulam in Nedungudi was to be excavated with $\frac{1}{5}$ of the fishery rentals (*Pāsippāttam*) of the tank.[63] The tank in Nārttāmalai was to be deepened with half the proceeds of the fishery rentals,[64] the other half being retained by the vendee. When lands were assigned the water and post-irrigation miscellaneous proceeds (*Nīrum, Cērum, Pāsip pāttamum*) were ancilliary rights that invariably went with the transaction.[65]

Presumably, keeping the channel-head and the supply-channel cleared of silt, and keeping the tank bund in tact were all covered by customary obligations (*vetti* or *vettimuttāvāl*) (visti in Sanskrit or compulsory customary labour).[66] These were customary obligations of the whole Township towards maintenance of the tank kulavettu and the ayacut-holders had their proportionate share of labour to contribute. But the deepening of the tank-bed especially near the sluices to form depressions (*kuli*) were improvements, sometimes, specially provided for by land-grants or deposits of cash and kind, as resources, to supplement the fishery-rental proceeds.

A practice of sacrificing goats at sluices and an obligation to render it was referred to in a record of Saka 1559 (A.D. 1637) while listing the obligations of a shepherd at the time of village festivities.[67]

VII. Irrigation disputes and how settled.

Typical case-records of disputes or rival claims for irrigation and how they were settled could be obtained from the inscriptions.

The Ūrār of Sirattakkudi gave an undertaking to the diety of Tiruvagattīsvara-Mudayanāyanār of Neivāsal as follows: In the 11th year of Sundra Pāndya who took Cōla country (Māravarman Sundara Pāndya I), 1227 A.D. the Ūrār were getting 4 shares (*Nāladaivāy*) of water from the big and small sluices and the last sluice or the surplus water (*kadai nīrum*) of the tank. They agreed to let down water as of old (*Mun muraiāga*) for 12 *nāligais* in a 60 *nāligai* day-i. e: the temple wasto have $\frac{1}{5}$ share and the ūrār $\frac{4}{5}$. The temple also had been allowed $\frac{1}{5}$ share of the fisheries. The temple could utilise the 12 *nāligais* supply (or about $4\frac{3}{4}$ hours) to irrigate the dēvadāna lands in the Ūr and surrounding areas. The ūrār besides, undertook to pay for

the dues on the temple lands to the King and his chieftains.[68]

In the year Kali·4403, in the 35th year of Kulasēkhara who "was pleased to take all countries" (A.D. 1302-3 ?) a dispute had arisen between the Teṛkāṭṭūr Ūrār and the ūrār of Muniyandai. It was contended that a channel running adjoining the northern end of Mērkuḍi on the external side of Māranēri was a channel not to supply Mērkuḍi tank but to the tank of Gōvindamangalam. It was also contended that a stone lying on the north of the channel in Mērkuḍi north field was not a stone fixed as the boundary-stone agreed among themselves in a dispute between the Irunjirai ūrār and Teṛkāṭṭūr ūrār. They met on a Tuesday on 23rd of Ani month (June-July) - *in situ* by the side of the stone in dispute to deliberate on the issue.[69]

It would be very interesting to know how the dispute between the two ūrārs was settled, but unfortunately the inscription is left incomplete.

A third dispute arose between one of the Arayars (chieftains) of Kīranūr, *viz:* Mangāmaikkāthan *alias* Vikrama Cōḻa Nāḍāḻvān and Nāṭṭār of Kulattūr in Kōnāḍu and the temple authorities of Sundaracōḻīsvaramuḍaiyār of Kīranūr. This was settled by an agreement among the parties. The Arayan contended that a river or stream flowing to the south of the field called Satrukālan, east of Aṇukkan field, north of the northern bund of Salliyavida field, and west of another field Terpuṛittākku was his. The nāṭṭār and the temple authorities (Sthānattār) claimed the stream to be belonging to the deity (*nāyanār*). It was resolved by the Nāṭṭār and the Thānathār agreeing to allow the Arayar to bale water (*Iṛaikka*) within these specified boundaries to his field, Satrukālan.[70]

It was clear that the field could not be irrigated by gravity flow, and apparently the Arayar had sought the advantage of the stream flowing adjacent to his field to take water to his own field. The concession to bale water from the disputed stream was a neat solution at once putting an inherent constraint on the quantum and ease of taking water, and allowing the water to flow downwards to the Dēvadāna lands. Perhaps the irresistible influence of the Arayar was neatly balanced by and harmonised with the social considerations of protecting the interests of temple lands.

A fourth instance came from Ponnamarāvati in Tirumeyyam

Taluk. This was a royal order (*Aruḷicceyal*) of Sundara Pāṇḍya in his 8th year, in the month of Arpasi (October-November) that in Ponnamarāvati they should not take water from Iḍankamīkāman as they were taking hitherto. The order issued pursuant to a royal tour in the area. Though laconic, it sounds rather peremptory.[71]

The fifth instance was from Rāngiyam, the date of which was lost. It recorded a settlement of a dispute between the Ūrār of (Iḻayātākuḍi and the Ūrār of Rājasingamangalam (Rāngiyam) and this was amicably settled by Vayirava-nāyanār Vijayālaya Thēvar, a Sūrakkuḍi chieftain under whose domain (*Nāyakkattanam*) the Dēvadāna of Iḷayāttākuḍi Āvuḍaiyīsvara-nāyanār was. It had already been agreed that water from the Kīranūr tank to be let down to one of the ayacuts of of Rājasingamangalam but the Ūrār of Kīranūr demanded paddy by way of paddy price and Svāmibhōgam (proprietory rights) and unless these were tendered the distribution of water could not be afforded. Then the affected ūrār saw Vijayālayadēvan and agreed to tender Svāmibhōgam and price of water (*taṇṇīr-kūli*) as stipulated by him which was 12 *kaṭṭi-kalam*. There upon, it was decided that Kīranūr tank water will be shared equally between Kīranūr fields and Pērānkōṭṭai fields in Rājasingamangalam. To give effect to this turn or change (*Mārukai*) the sluice-flow-surface was paved with stone, and in one stone two vents (*kaṇ*) were opened so that water let out would flow in equal shares of the discharge from the sluice. The fisheries in the tank were to be caught in common, and the tank would be deepened with the proceeds thereof. The Rājasingamangalam *ayacutdars* were to take water from the northern sluice-or rather northern vent in the sluice - through a channel.

The manner of construction of this sluice would suggest that earlier the control of the sluice was with the Ūrār of Kīranūr and they caused hindrances in making supplies by turns in distribution and the new arrangement was designed to ensure automatically equal and simultaneous or alternate distribution. This would also attest the skill of applied hydraulics which was of no mean order.[72]

A last instance was a dispute in Saka 1627 (A.D. 1705) regarding a channel between the owners of Maravaṇi Ēndal, also from Rāngiyam endowed for Cidambaram Kaṭṭaḷai and the residents of Turumā. The dispute (*vipahāram* - Sanskrit, *Vyavahāra*) was heard by Villvanam

Piḷḷai, the agent or *Kārya-Kartā* of Vijaya Raghunātha Toṇḍaimān, the Pudukkōṭṭai Ruler, but he could not settle it. Then both the disputants were sent to the temple of Pulvānāyaki-amman at Pāganēri (in Sivaganga Taluk) and they underwent the fire ordeal. Nāgappan of Maravaṇiyēndal came out successful in the ordeal, and the channel was allowed to be enjoyed by him for ever accordingly.[73]

The disputes were settled either at the commencement of the monsoon crop seasons in October-November[74] or after the harvest in Panguni March-April[75] and in one instance in Ani (June-July).[76]

These instances though few were true to type. Ancient custom (*anādi*, or *mun-mariyādi*),[77] past practice (*Paṇḍāḍu Paḻanaḍai*) were the basis of enjoyment of rights, and an appeal to such practice was decisive. Custom based on the memory of the township was the code of authority and it had acquired, in Prof. Maitland's phrase, an 'indefinite definiteness' in medieval practice and jurisprudence that could not be predicated even of the enacted law of the modern times. This was the more necessary as the surface drainage was progressively and increasingly being harnessed and the surplus of the tank ahead was the source of supply to another below. Any over-storage (which was impossible) or interception might have had a chain reaction rendering the supply increasingly precarious and would lead to social tensions. A resort to the ordeal in the early 18th century was a case in which the mode of settling disputes prevailing widely in the medieval times still lingered.

VIII. Irrigation rights and practices

A wealth of details could be culled from the inscriptions on irrigation practices and rights in vogue. Two kinds of transactions were discernable: (1) Sale of whole tanks, and ayacuts together or a share thereof, and (2) Sales of parcels of lands within the ayacut. The former would, to borrow the terminology of the Madras Estates land Act (I of 1908) could be called 'estates' or part/share villages, while the latter were smaller parcels of occupancy holdings. As noticed above, there were numerous transactions of the first kind, what with the twin calamities of drought and floods, with tanks breached, and ayacuts abandoned. Hence wherever wholesale reclamation of lands, and reconstruction of tanks were involved, the system in its integrity

had to be transferred. In such cases the ayacuts, the tank, the bund, the tank beds, the foreshore of the tank, the channel and the channel-head (*vāttalai*) were all sold together.[78] In some cases along with the tanks the foreshore catchment usually drylands had also been sold.[79] (*Ūr Poduvāna Pāndimān Kudi-kkādu Kulamum, Karaiyum, Kulattul-vāyum, Nīrnilamum, Mudutaraiyum, Punjeyum*). This was and should particularly have been the case when the smaller sources dependent on the immediate catchment ahead for its supply from surface drainage during monsoons were sold. For the catchment was to the tank what the lungs were to the heart, without which the system would collapse. Instances were of the ēmbals, and kundus-as Ambattan ēmbal, Vīrakandan ēmbal, Vilāvadikkundu, Korkkar-kundu[80] sold for 20 *Sakrapon* by the Ūrār of Pulvayal village in Vayalakanādu. Thus, tanks and ayacut (*kulamum vayalum*), tank and its supply head (*kulamum, kulavāttalayum*) were invariably sold together.[81]

Sometimes fractional shares in the tank water were sold. The Sirāttakkudi Ūrār sold 1/5 of the share of the tank water flowing through the Periamadai, Sirumadai and Kadaimadai (big, small and end sluices) to irrigate dēvadāna lands for 12 *nāligais* in every 60 *nāli-gais*-day and also 1/5 of the fisheries.[82]

Similarly the Ūrār of Visalūr sold to the temple of Kudumiyā-malai ½ of the tank, and water flowing through the three sluices, for 64,000 *kāsu* and also ½ of the fishery rights.[83]

A share of 1/3 of the tank with 2 *mā* of land was sold for 20 *panam* by the Ūrār of Madiyanūr to Tiruvagathīsvaramudaya-nāyanār of the village.[84]

When tanks were sold, the customary flows of channels and water were vouched for them according to the prescriptive rights of old (*'Ikkulattukku Pandādu Palanadai Pāykira Kālkalum, Nīrkalum Ikkulattukkē Pāivadāgavum*).[85]

When parcels of land were sold the sale always conveyed with it the right to take the proportionate, customary supply of water (*Nilō-pādi diagonal Nilappodiyilē Nīr-pāyakkadavadākavum; nilattāl vandanīrum*)[86].

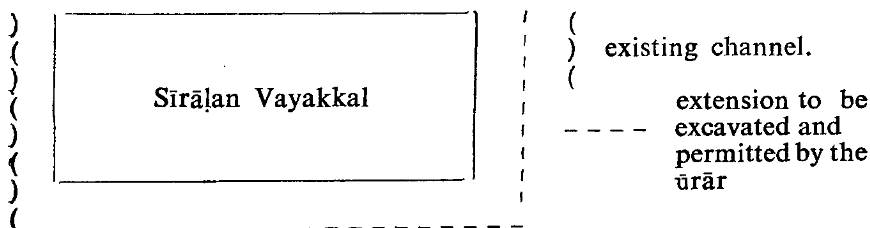
However, where the lands sold had no adequate source or supply of irrigation, rights were created afresh or in addition and provision was made for excavating channels or diverting the water from rivers

like Veḷḷār.

When the ūrār of Vikramapiāṇḍyanallūr sold some lands to Periyadēvar, one of the Ponnamarāvati Mudalis, they permitted the vendee to impound the waters of the Aḻavār, which took off from Marudur anicut on the river. The water in excess of the sill level of the sluice was to be let eastwards. They additionally agreed to excavate a surplus drainage channel at the eastern end of Kēsanēri (another tank ahead) and agreed to let its surplus waters flowing through it to be supplied to this source purchased. (*Ikkuḷattu Nīr Pōgira Marudūr Aṇaiyilē Ninṛum Varukira (A) (l) Avāṛṛil Ikkuḷattilē Aḍaiccipāycci Koḷvārāgavum. Ikkuḷattukkumiḷiyil Mikka Nīr Kiḻakke Pōvadākavum. Ippaḍi Viṛṛukkuḍutta Ikkuḷattuku Kēsanēriyil Kīḻ Kaḍaiyil kkaḍaiviḍu Nīrkāl Veṭṭi Kaḍaiviḍum Nīr Pāyccikkuduppōmāhavum*)[87]

A second instance was the tank excavated by Vaippūruḍaiyār who had conquered the tract, and reclaimed land and diverted the Veḷḷār waters into that tank and held the ayacut as Paṇṇai in Visalūr in Annavāyil Kuṛṛam already noticed.[88]

When the nobles and chieftains (*arayars* and *mudalis*) of Malaiyanguḍi sold lands to the Madāpatyam Tirupperundurai Piḷḷai in charge of Tirunāgēsvaramuḍaiyār Temple in Pērayur, they also permitted the vendee to excavate a channel to run eastwards from the southern field bund, and again from the eastern bund towards the north of the field called Sīraḷan Vayakkal so that the channel skirted the three sides, west, south, and east of the field.[89] Was it because of the undulated levels within?



The Āngudi Ūrār sold 5 taḍis of land to Agastīsvaramuḍaiyār temple in Kōttayūr; they permitted the proportionate water from the Mēlaikkuḷam through the Kāḍivayakkal maḍai (the sluice which supplied Kāḍivayakkal field) due to the lands sold and also the water from

the eastern (or lower ?) sluice (*Kilaikkumili*) to be taken along the northern boundary of Marudansey, (a field) to irrigate, Vellangoli and other fields. Would the name suggest it was liable to be inundated in times of floods? Was this supplementation allowed because the earlier quantum of supply was inadequate, despite the fields having already three wells within which were also sold with the land? (Pidāran Vayakkal had 1 well; it was to the south of Kādi-Vayakkal which had a well also; Karungālisey was a third field with its well).[90]

The Ūrār of Ālattūr agreed to provide a conduit or a spout (*thūmbu*) to the west of the royal Highway (*Rājapperuvali*) so that the supply from its channelhead to Manjanēri Tank they sold might not be intercepted.[91]

Generally, the tank forshore faced towards the upstream direction of the feeding jungle stream or according to the lie of the land that sloped eastwards and southwards. But this could not be axiomatic, as hydrology and the gradient to facilitate surface flow were well understood, and pressed into service to optimise impounding of water and conservation of water, which were consciously aimed at and assiduously provided for.

Distribution system

The distribution system for water was well laid out. Tanks had usually a big sluice, named so apparently because it could command the largest area or draw water much more and longer, being located in the deepest part of the tank-bed. There was a smaller sluice (*siru-madai*), and a third near the surplus weir (*kadai-madai*). Distinct parts of the ayacuts were entitled to take water from the particular sluices which could command the lands. Similarly, lands were also described as entitled to irrigation from distinct channels.

The Kulappatti land for tank maintenance in Tiruvetpūr was under the big sluice (*Perum-kumili*) of Kavirkulam.[92] The lands sold by the Nagarattār of Arulmoli-dēvapuram for maintaining lamps were specified as entitled to the waters of the particular tank, such as Maramadakki Tank. But the Tiruvidaiyāttam tank to its east was to get filled as per the customary practice (*Munbu nīr ērum mariyādi*) and its subsisting riparian right was protected.[93]

An inscription from Agastīsvaram Udaiyār Temple in Irumba-

nāḍu (Tirumeyyam Taluk) lists out fully all the Dēvadāna lands of the temple with their extents, the sluice-wise location of each, and the source of irrigation, whether tank or channel, on all of which the Iṛai (Govt. land dues) including antarāyam (paid usually in cash) were exempted.[94] They are listed in Appendix I giving the source wise irrigated lands. The Usilan-sey was irrigated by the sluice in Malarikkuḷam.[95]

When fields were irrigated by the channels, the channel that commanded the lands was specified. For example, the Periyasey (big field) was irrigated by the Unnadarāman channel in Mayilāppūr vayal. Vēppansey was under Pilāṟṟu channel.[96] The term 'pilār' means a channel or boundary of water course. Another channel of the same name took off from the big sluice of Perunguḷam.[97] The Veppansey was commanded by the Peruvāykkāl which took off from the Peruṉkumiḻi of Perunguḷam in the Dēvadāna ayacut of Periyavayal in Tiruvēngavāsal.[98]

The ūrpodu lands in Tirukkuḷambūr ayacut were under the "koil" channel.[99]

When the Ūrār of Ālattūr sold in auction to a dancing girl of the temale 12 *mā* of land (3.96 acres) they also sold with the lands 16 *nāḻigais* of water out of the 180 *nāḻigais* for which the Perunkumiḻi (the big sluice) was, as of old, drawing water from the Big Tank. Thus the share of the 12 *mā* of land was $\frac{4}{45}$ of the flow from the Big sluice. The sale price was 14,000 *Anrāḍu Naṟ pudukāsu.*[100] It could be inferred that the hours of drawal, should have depended on the extent of command, level, soil conditions, and crop grown, and the quantum of drawal was fixed for each sluice. If one could arithmetically compute the extent of the ayacut on the basis of the share of water taken the total ayacut of the Big sluice could, perhaps, be computed as about 45 acres. The system of distribution, and regulation was worked out in detail and quantified in an accountable manner.

There was a cycle of turns (*vaṭṭam*)[101] and an order in turns (*muṟai*)[102] adopted for irrigating the lands so that equitable distribution could result. The hours (*nāḻigai*) for taking water had to be enjoyed in a cycle. The land south of the Veḷḷār sold for maintaining a garden had nine such cycles. In other cases the hours for taking water were

qualified by the term *Vattattal* in a cycle of turn.[103]

When ayacut lands were sold it was stipulated that the lands could impound the water from the respective tanks irrigating them in proportion in each turn (*Irandu Kulattu Nirum Murai Adaitta Vilukkattile Nir Vittukkolla-Kkadavaragavum*).[104]

When 4 Tadis of wet lands were sold it was stipulated that the vendees were entitled to their proportionate share of water within their respective ayacuts each field in its own turn only (*Ivairril Tanmuraiyil Nirile Ahavayal Vilukkadu-Vidakkadavarahavum*), from the two tanks, Veliyangudi Tank and Vannakkan-gulam in Ālattūr village.[105] When an additional share of the village lands was granted to a 14th donee, Yādavapperumāl Sōmayāji as Sarvamānya in a Brahmadēya Village, Ādanūr, already enjoyed by thirteen grantees the new share was to receive tne water and fishery (*pāsi*) rights proportionate to the land-grant of 7 *mā* (2 acres 31 cents).[106]

The flow of water of fields was measured by the duration reckoned in terms of *nāligai*.[107] Instances could be cited where the right to take water as such, was sold for irrigating the lands.[108] The details of such regulation of water by the stipulated hours could now be considered.

The Visalūr Ūrār sold the land Kulapatti, whose owner Ālvārdēvan failed to remit kadamai and Accu (Antarāyam payable in cash) due to the State; together with it they allowed 3 *nāligais* (or 72 minutes) of flow in its turn, when water was let out from the Big Sluice.[109]

A sale-deed by Sri Parāntakanallūr Ūrār to Tirugnānasambandan as Madappurairayili contained a statement that for the lands and ūrānis sold therein and the lands and Pālūrani sold earlier to the matha, the vendee shall have five *nāligai*, in addition to the *nāligais* they were entitled by themselves. (*Tannāligai oliya nāligai anjum*).[110] Was it a concession by the Ūrār for the vendee to get some additional water or did it imply in addition to the duration of the flow of the water for *ūranis* which were, any way, owned sources of the vendee he would be entitled to 5 *nāligais* of flow from the tank as now granted by the Ūrār for the lands sold

In any event, irrigation rights could be created and sold by the Ūrār as the custodian and guardian of the community rights in public utilities and sources of irrigation. The Ūrār sold the right of taking water from Tirukkulambūr Tank for Kalsey to Kēralādicca Thēvan

the vendee who instituted a service in the shrine of the Goddess in the village.[111]

The Punnangudi Ūrār sold for 150 *Senbaga Guligaip paṇam* the right to take water for 6 *nāligais* in their turn from the Big Sluice of the Big Tank to the ayacut lands of Sūrrikuḷam when Kanjamalai Thēvan *alias* Periya-Udaiyār Tennavadarayan purchased the land in auction for endowing it for lamp service. The record carefully stipulated that the water for 4 *nāligais* (96 minutes) shall be utilised by the vendee together or simultaneously with the flow of water for the vendee's own lands in every turn according to its share in the turns from the big sluice *(Periya Kumiḷiyilē Murai Viḷukkāṭṭilē Murai Tōrum Ivaruḍaiya Puravuḍanē Sērndu-pāya Nālu Nāligai Nīrum).*[112] It makes sense and for economy to allow the additional flow of water to be drawn in continuation or together with the drawal for the ayacut of the vendee avoiding transmission losses.

In a sale of lands under Adanakkudi Tank, water was to flow for five *nāligais* for karumsey in a cycle (*Vaṭṭattāl Anju nāligai*) and for another land under the same Adanakudi Tank for 2 *nāligais* in a cycle (*Vaṭṭattāl Iranḍu Nāligai*).[113]

The Ūrār of Vayalagam sold to Parambaiyūr Āvuḍaiyān Udayap-perumāḷ certain lands in auction in Ālanguḍi ayacut. While doing so, they also sold 7½ *nāligais* of water flow (3 hours) from a Perumāḷ Tiruvidayāṭṭam Tank which the vendee was excavating (also naming if after himself). The sale price for both the land and water was 170 *varāhan paṇam* and 7½ *nāligais* were computed as ¼ of the Poludu (i. e: of day time of 30 *nāligais.*)[114]

This case clearly brought out that even if the tank be excavated by the benefactor, he had no right *ipso-facto* to appropriate water use therefrom (a) without the permission of the Ūrār in whom such control over irrigation regulation had vested and (b) without paying for the water he would be taking. Perhaps this was because the terms of the transaction by which the vendee had excavated the tank for the Perumāḷ (or Vaisṇu Temple of Ulagamuṇḍa Perumāḷ) were different and the field (*Panensey*) for which water was being allowed for 7½ *nāligis* was a different endowment for lamp-service in Cōḷēsvara-muḍaiya Nāyanār at Pērāmbūr. Thus the endowments and the services were different and there could be no mix up of the rights for

water from a tank intended for the Visṇu temple lands with a different grant to the Siva Temple without prior authorisation by the Ūrār or the village community.

The field Tōttacey and well were granted as Kuḍinīngākkāṇi (with continued occupancy right) to a goldsmith Tiruvarangan Aḻagan *alias* Kāngēyattaṭṭān and along with it, the right to take water for 12 *nāḻigais* of flow (*Nīr-nāḻigai*) from the Big Tank which the predecessor in enjoyment Pallavarayar had, was also transferred to the goldsmith.[115]

The Ūrār of Sikhanallūr gave a grant-deed to a Sivācārya of the temple of Tirunalakunṛam and along with the land situated at the extremity of the village (kodiyil) they gave the right to take water for 2 *nāḻigais* (48 minutes) per *mā* (33 cents) from the Big Tank.[116]

When 16 *mā* of land was sold for 400 *Varākan Kuḷigaippaṇam* as Kudinīnga-Dēvadānam in Melattāniyam the land carried with it the flow duration (*nīr nāḻgai*) in its due share in turn (*muṛai viḷakkāṭṭile*) for 25 *nāligais*. The document thoughtfully added that if on measurement the field had any excess over 16 *mā* then, on the same basis, additional proportionate water for the excess land found on measurement could be taken. Perhaps, in this case, the quantum of drawal was more and hence the total duration, 10 hours seemed to be less than the arithmetical computation for the extent at the rate stipulated in the preceding case.[117] The term "Nīrnāligai" suggested that the concept of "cusec" was quivering in their lips even in those times.

Two instances from Neivāsal (Tirumeyyam Taluk) indicate that even under the big sluice of the Nelvāyil Tank water scarcity was experienced and a more rigorous system of turns to equitably distribute the scarce supply was in vogue. Thus, in a record of Sundara Pāṇḍya[118] (5+1st year) the Ūrār sold water for 7 *nāḻigais* from the share held by them in common in the scarcity turn (*Muṭṭu muṛai*) to irrigate the Dēvadāna lands from the water flowing through the Periyamaḍai (Big Sluice) of the (*Nelvāyil Kuḻattu Periyamaḍayil Ūr Poduvāna muṭṭu murai nāḻigai ēḻum.*

The same Ūrār again, in a record of Pāṇḍya Kulasēkhara[119] agreed that the Dēvadāna lands might, in their turn, take from the available flow in the channel water during the scarcity times. (*Nelvāyil Kuḷattu Nīrilē Muttu Muraiyilē Kāl Pōnda Nīr murayāna-*

tōrum Innāyanār Dēvadānangaḷukku Kuḍuttōm)

Neivāsal tank was situated at the southern tip of the tract adjoining Tiruppattūr Taluk of Rāmanāthapuram District. The two instances revealed that even under the big sluice, drawing water from the deepest part of the tank-bed, scarcity was not infrequent. To meet it a more rigid system of turns to equitably share the available water was adopted. While doing so, special consideration was shown to the temple (Dēvadāna) lands. The Ūrār had a share in common (for village lands held in common) from out of which they were prepared to sell a part of even the scarcity-turns for a consideration to irrigate the temple lands.

From the data marshalled above the following conclusion could be drawn. The tank and tank water were public utilities of which the Ūrār of the township were the guardians. Sluices at different levels had a stipulated duration of drawal availed of in a cycle. The individual fields commanded by each sluice had similarly a duration earmarked for each field, which was enjoyed by custom and transferred with the land. Fresh rights depending on availability and command could be created by the Ūrār. Water rights were sold for a consideration either by itself or along with the fields to be irrigated. Scarcity conditions needed a more rigorous system of turns, and it was enforced tempered with considerateness for temple land. Water conservation and management, even because the tract was mostly rainfed, were keenly cared for, and practised.

Joint Sources and Joint Ayacuts

The precariousness of supply also led to some human ingenuity in managing the supply from whatever vantage source that could be had and also sometimes to multiplicity of the sources from or joint ayacuts for, which concurrent, alternate, or successive supplies could be had. Lands were some times described as capable of being irrigated by water from all the sluices of the tank *(Anaittu maḍaiyālum Nīr-pāyndu Viḷayum)*[120]

This could be possibly in vogue in one of the several ways. For instance, there might be a main distributary running all along the tank bund, hugging to it, interconnecting the discharge from all the sluices, so that the sluices could be utilised in the order of the height and sill

level of each, reserving the big or central sluice, drawing from the deepest tank-bed part to the last. Alternately, the field channels could be interconnected in the middle or lower portions of the ayacut. A third possibility would be to feed the two aisles or lower extremities of the ayacut with an inter-connected network so that the tailend areas usually deficient in supply could get it augmented. Such practices are still in vogue in the rainfed areas of Pudukkōṭṭai and Rāmanāthapuram districts.

In a few other cases, there were more than one source. In Sundaram Village unoccupied lands were sold and they were capable of taking water both from the big and small sluices of the tank.[121]. 4½ *mā* sold in a Kuḍumiyāmalai record were irrigated from three sources, Sundara Cōḻan Kuḷam, Pudukkuḷam and Suḍukāṭṭukkuḷam, despite these fields having had five wells within for supplemental irrigation.[122]

The Saṇḍākkuḍi-Vayal and Nallapiḷḷaiperṟāḷ-Vayal (*4 mā*) were irrigated by the flow from Veppavāykāl, taking off from the big sluice of Pālayūr Kuḷam, the sluice from Sirunangai Kuḷam *and many ūrānis* and tanks[123] (*ēri*).

An umbaḷam (grant for a service-holder) land was irrigated by the channel from the big sluice of Nāṭṭukulam, the Nārai channel, and Sattaṟai channel.[124] In Kuḷavāyppaṭṭi, fields in Saṇḍākkuḍi were irrigated by the Vēppavāykal, taking off the big sluice of the Nāṭṭu tank and the Ponnēri tank and the surplus channel - head (*Puravāyttalai*).[125]

These instances underline the extreme strain for supply, despite supplementation from several sources and even from wells within. The moisture left in the foreshore of the tanks was also valued and fields were sown with such moisture and crops grown supplemented by wells. It should be presumed that such cultivation would have been permitted only in a manner or at times when the storage in the tank at full level for its ayacut was not affected. Local custom and usage would not permit it otherwise. *Ivvūr Kuḷattu Uḷvāyil Nān Vilaikoṇḍu-ḍaiya nilamum, seyyil kiṇaṟum*).[126]

A Rāngaiyam record was explicit that the lands sold not only had a share in the tank - water but also in the well which supplemented the tank (*Innilattukku Kuḷattilum Kiṇaṟilum Innilaviḻukkāḍu Taṇṇīrum Paṟṟi.*[127]

Presumably, the well should have been held in common, and not exclusively owned and water was shared in the stipulated proportion.

IX Wells and well Irrigation

It was not surprising that in a tract so abjectly dependent on the short spell of monsoon rainfall, and precarious supply from tanks or on freshes from capricious jungle streams, agriculture had to turn to the subsoil water for adequate and timely supplies and more for supplemental irrigation both for sowing and for sustaining the crops, before and after the monsoon. Wells were dug extensively, and numerous instances could be cited.[128] The same field had more than one well in some cases.[129] The lands were the more valuable for such wells and when sold together with the wells had an added value. Details of such well-irrigation follow.

The wells were also owned in shares, and sold in shares. Thus two shares (*kūṛu*) of the well in Tiruvikramavayakkal were sold with the land.[130] ¼ share of a well was retained, and ¾ share sold with a land which was growing paddy by lift-irrigation *(Iṛainīr Pānju Nelviḷayum)* in another instance, where the soil was perhaps sandy *(Maṇar kālnilam.*[131] In a third instance ½ of the well was sold with the land; Maṛavan Vayakkal.[132]

When one Taḍi of land was sold a well covering I *mā* of land was also sold.[133] In some cases, the vendor retained the well in one field, but sold the well along with another parcel.[134]

In a sale, 2 Taḍi of land Kuvaḷai-sey were sold for 5 *paṇam* and a well in the field was sold for 10 *paṇams*. One well was thus paid the value of 4 Taḍis of land.[135]

When 20 *kuḷis* of land were sold in Udayan Vayakkal the share of water due to the fields from a well was also sold along with the land.[136]

But fields matured with water from private well, though allowed a baling remission, was still charged a *kaḍamai* (State dues on land) as for wet land, and there was no benefit for the private ownership or excavation of the well except the remission for baling. This is discussed further below.

X Rates of land dues for wet and dry crops and allowances for the different modes of irrigation

Adequate evidence on the details of Kaḍamai (land dues) and antarāyam (levy in cash on land that were made over to temples or other assignees could be culled out from the inscriptions. Representative data of such levies made are presented in Appendix II, arranged talukwise for Alangudi, Kulattur, and Tirumeyyam taluks; the data for the last taluk are much more than for the other two.

On an analysis of these data, the following conclusions could be drawn: Certainly there were individual variations from one record to another, even within the Taluk. But a uniform pattern *inter-se* of the *Kaḍamai* levies as between the main Pisānam-wet crop raised with monsoon receipts and tank water, and the Kuṛuvai or Navarai crops-this term Navarai is still in use in North Arcot District for summer crop-which were pre-and post-monsoon crops respectively was discernable. The rates for Pisānam wet crop were the full rates, and the highest; those for Kuṛuvai and Navarai were lower at the stipulated fraction of the full dues (Muḻukkaḍamai) for Pisānam crop. Rates also sharply distinguished dry from the wet crops and the charge on the former was leviable if the crops struck roots (*Nilai ninra*). Distinction, sometimes, was made even between Āḍi (July-August) and Aṛpasi-Kuṛuvai (October-November) and the levies were higher for the latter because of the higher moisture content and monsoon advantage it enjoyed over the earlier crop raised, prone to be affected by the summer months of July-October. The levy was the higher if Kuṛuvai had the benefit of tank irrigation[137]. Even the dry lands raised with paddy were charged wet rates but at concessional rates,[138] and only in years of yield[139].

The rates sharply distinguished the wet crops from the dry crops. Even among the dry crops a gradation was observed as between Tinai, Varagu and cotton, gingelly and mango or other trees. Above all, sumptuous allowances were made for the well-irrigated lands, involving baling or lift irrigation from channels or streams. Usually well irrigated lands were charged half the rate for the seasonal pisānam crop,[140] and for baling with picottahs one-fourth thereof.[141] A distinction was even made in one instance between baling well water or water from pits or depressions (*kuḻi*), during transplantation the rate for which

was 1/3 and when such baling was needed at the time the crops were flowering and in ears, when it was 2/5. The established practice was that even if water was taken from private sources like wells in occupied holdings the *kaḍamai* (or land dues to State) were charged at the rate for the wet crop with baling remission allowed.[142]

While koḍikāl (*betel wine*) plantain and sugarcane, were valued the highest, at par with or even higher than paddy, Tinai, varagu brinjals and pumpkin which needed the least moisture were charged progressively lower rates in the scale. Sometimes even for non-paddy crops, *kaḍamai* was payable in paddy.[143] Sometimes for cotton or gingelly, the *kaḍamai* was payable in the form of cotton-seed[144] oil or gingelly oil.[145]

Generally, the rates were levied as the practice in vogue in the administrative division (Nāḍu) would warrant (*Nāḍupaḍu kaḍamai*). In the case of dry crops, the crop condition and yield were to be verified before levy.[146] At times of water scarcity, the assessment by the Ūrār of the crop maturing to yield was to be ascertained and adopted. Severe calamities like drought or floods would qualify for favourable assessment, allowing remission based on estimated crop-yield (*payir-pārtu*). There were, of course, other miscellaneous levies which it would be out of place to discuss here with reference to the scope of this study. Reclaimed lands had a graduated scale of levy of paddy and other dues, with incremental increases progressing from 1/2 to 3/4 and to full rates spread over three years.[148]

Dr. Appadurai has made a comparison of the "tax" levied on the crops grown in various districts in the period A.D. 1000-1500.[149] His analysis brings out that the rates in Tirunelvēli district were about the highest even in medieval times. They continued to be so under the Ryotwāri Settlement of the British administration. The rates in Pudukkōṭṭai district were among the lower brackets, perhaps, even the lowest.

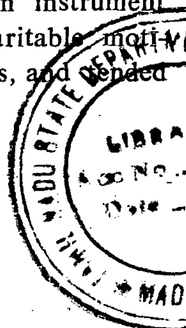
The schedule of rates as set out in Appendix II clearly serve as an index of the relative appreciation and value of the land growing wet crops, *vis-a-vis* those other crops in the descending order of their use of the moisture. It also highlights the significance attached to irrigation as a factor for appreciation of the land and crop values.

XI Conclusion

Sweet were the uses of adversity. Pudukkōṭṭai tract was not particularly favoured by good monsoon rainfall. Even the jungle streams, Veḷḷār and Pambār passing through the tract were not an unmixed blessing, when floods and droughts alternated. What with the lack of assured supply, agriculture could only be the more secure with lift or well-irrigation. The later was widely in use. But it also put a premium on the impounding of the surface drainage to the optimum, on conserving storage and utilisation of the channel flow to the maximum, stretching the utility of every hour-*nāḻigai* as the inscriptions would say-to the utmost. Sources were numerous. But the need to reconstruct, or rebuild tanks frequently getting breached and abandoned was recurring. So too, the need for reclaiming the lands too easily reverting to a state of scrub jungle, overgrown with trees. Human ingenuity was harnessed to device intelligent and painstaking modes of irrigation, and to evolve usage and practices at once zealously protecting earlier and established irrigation and extending carefully but sympathetically wet cultivation where possible. The rates of the share of produce to the state and its agents and the assignees or grantees could not be said to be too liberal but were only comparatively less than those in tracts which nature had favoured the better. But the pattern of such demand reckoned with the additional labour, cost and precariousness of supply and allowed for these factors by a graded scale of remission. This allowance had been so intricately worked out as to allow for the differential benefits of moisture availed of for crops, and even of the particular crop condition whether at transplantation or when in ears, which served as an index of the extent of additional inputs or risks that were entailed. Administering such an intricately worked-out system and schedule would have required a network of field revenue officers and assessors in each township who might be prone to become 'engines of oppression.' Instances were not wanting when the royal agents were unrelenting in their demand even when the holder of the field had deserted nor had any agnates. The brunt of their exacting demands had to be borne by the township community organisation. They (the ūrār) became at once the vicarious legatees of the holders who had abandoned and deserted the land and the agency for administering reversion or escheat to the State. But

crop-sampling and the judgment of adjoining field-holders under similar conditions and the custom of the division (Nāḍu) were moderating, though not mitigating influences. But conditions seemed to change for the worse in later Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagar times.[150]

The Township cared for avenues to extend cultivation, to optimise conservation, and utilisation of water. Prescriptive rights and ancient usage were binding and could be seldom departed from. But the *Ūrār* (Township organisation) gave their sanctions for creating new uses and for extensions with guarded circumspection, avoiding waste, though in individual instances the influence, if also the initiative, of station and status, and power and authority of the nobles and the generals could not be ruled out in the grant of such sanction. The interests of the Community at large, the need for creation of public utilities, and assets,-some times compelling due to rigours of assessment-and their protection and preservation as an instrument therefor, coupled with the pronounced religious and charitable motivation, were factors that balanced security with progress, and tended to harmonise individual advantage with public good.



1. & 2. Manual of Pudduk-kottai State, vol. I (1938)
3. Eg. P. I. 274; 281; 319
4. P.I. 90
5. „ 92
6. „ 302
7. „ 325
8. „ 345
9. „ 349
10. „ 383
11. „ 406
12. „ 421
13. „ 268
14. „ 301
15. „ 801
16. „ 361
17. „ 124, 759, 1010
18. „ 167, 534
19. „ 156, 305, 308
20. „ 849
21. P.I. 136
22. „ 11
23. „ 12
24. „ 16
25. „ 17
26. „ 25
27. „ 28 (Thirugokarnam)
28. „ 59
29. „ 60
30. „ 72
31. „ 61
32. „ 71
33. „ 123
34. „ 124
35. S.I.I. vol.XXIII, No.155, p.124
36. P.I. 140
37. „ 156
38. „ 107, 186
39. „ 167
40. „ 375

41. P.I. 363; 375
42. ,, 375
43. ,, 421
44. ,, 534
45. ,, 475
46. ,, 304
47. ,, 478
48. ,, 573
49. P. I. 582
50. P. I. 681
51. P.I. 725
52. ,, 762
53. ,, 861
54. ,, 970
55. P. I. 1010
56. P. I. 1065
57. P. I. 964
58. ,, 896
59. See *Supra* (pp. 149, 150) under "Construction & Renovation"; Also P. I. 347
60. P. I, 25
61. P. I. 477
62. P. I. 776
63. P. I. 482
64. P. I. 620
65. P. I. 832
66. ,, 481
67. ,, 868
68. ,, 259
69. ,, 414
70. ,, 512
71. ,, 513
72. ,, 977
73. ,, 876
74. ,, 259; 513; 977
75. ,, 512; 876
76. ,, 414
77. P. I. 363
78. ,, 265; 302; 304; 423; 426
79. P. I. 361
80. P. I. 864

81. It may be of interest to note that this practice was very much in vogue in the Pudukkottai State, and the adjoining Ramanathapuram District when cowles, undertenures (Dharamasanam grants) or the post settlement inams were granted in the zamindaris of Ramanathapuram and Sivagangai.
82. P. I. 259
83. ,, 375
84. ,, 613
85. ,, 363
86. ,, 269; 283; 297; 315
87. ,, 361
88. ,, 475
89. ,, 402
90. ,, 405
91. P. I. 589
92. ,, 28–Similar instances are: 327; 480; 759; 844; 866; & 950
93. P. I. 487
94. P. I. 562
95. P. I. 589
96. ,, 275
97. ,, 525
98. ,, 480
99. ,, 392
100. ,, 666
101. ,, 266
102. P. I. 355; 384; 533; 552
103. P. I. 402
104. ,, 305
105. ,, 533. Also 814 & 816
106. P. I. 789
107. 1 naligai – 24 minutes; 1 hour – $2\frac{1}{2}$ naligais } Eg. P. I. 266
108. P. I. 258; 494; 516; 552
109. P. I. 301
110. ,, 376
111. P. I. 516
112. P. I. 384
113. ,, 402
114. ,, 494

115. P. I. 424—The term 'Nirnaligai' suggests the concept of 'cusec' was quivering in their lips even in those times.
116. P. I. 574
117. P. I. 624
118. P. I. 258
119. „ 552
120. „ 459; 727; 834
121. „ 422
122. „ 603
123. P. I. 728
124. P. I. 752
125. „ 849
126. P. I. 429
127. „ 868
128. P. I. 251; 307; 315; 317; 330; 350; 402; 405; 416; 424; 484; 489; 527; 603; 613; 710 to cite only a few.
129. P. I. 402; 484; 603
130. P.I. 333
131. „ 416
132. „ 527 Also 314
133. „ 317
134. „ 350
135. „ 489
136. „ 710
137. „ 544
138. „ 250
139. „ 419
140. The baling remission allowed for lift irrigation in British.

Revenue Administration in Madras is 1/4 of wet assessment and 3/4 of wet assessment is charged (BSO 4-8). But for lift irrigation from *Doruvu* wells, it is 1/4 of the water cess for direct flow from the source as classified (BSO 1-8).

141. P.I. 305; 307

142. It will be interesting to note that this practice of charging crops irrigated with water from private wells in occupied holding at wet rates was in vogue till contemporary times in some Inam villages and the author can testify to its continuance in two Vyasaraya Mutt villages, Vengili and Kuttampakkam in North Arcot District, which were settled under Inam Abolition Act.

It was only in 1884-85 that British Land Revenue policy decided that no water cess would be charged on dry lands irrigated solely from private wells, situated on land which was private property or constructed prior to 20th August 1884, within whatever distance the wells might be from a public irrigation service (Vide B. P. 3105 dt. 4-9-1884: B. P. 1270 dt. 27-4-1885: B. P. 428 dt. 11-5-1885: B.S.O. 6 sub-para 4)

143. P. I. 250

144. P. I. 434

145. P. I. 349

146. ,, 327

147. ,, 319

148. ,, 475

149. "Economic Conditions of Southern India"—Dr. A. Appadurai (Madras University), Vol. II-1977.

150. On this aspect, please see the 'Study on the Burden of land dues". *Infra*.

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APPENDIX I — *UNDER 'IRRIGATION'*

Devadana Karankilamai lands of Agastisvarar Temple, Irumbanadu, localised under the channel or source of irrigation

Tank (1)	*Sluice* (2)	*Channel* (3)	*Name of fields* (4)
Vengu|am	Mē|aipudukkuḍai Pinmaḍai		Tiruppūvaṇa vayakkal
	Sembandamaḍai		Vidātān vayakkal, Vēlān vayakkal, Illattāḷ Tuḍaval, Tuḍaval, Marokkaccey, Sirusang|udiśey, Avalamudusey, Meḷukkuppuram, Sangaḻudi Tuḍavdal, Aṭṭāccey, Perunjey.
	West of Pālūraṇi		Uvaccappuram, Uḻāḍātān vayakkal.
	Ālamaḍai		..Nāgartuḍaval, Tayirtuḍaval, Paḷḷipaḍai($\frac{1}{4}$)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Ālamaḍai		Puḍukkuḍivāsarśey, Sonnidi vayakkal, Ēmbarśey, Ālanjey.
Perunguḷam		Koṟṟanārkuḍi channel	Sirupananjey, Kumaranperunjey.
		Koṟṟanārkuḍi Vāṇiyangudi channel	Sātti vayakkal.
		Vaṇiyanguḍi channel	Sōḻamān Siṟupāḍu
Tiruṇārāyaṇa nallūr		Vāṇiyan.... parappan channel	Māyilangaiśey, Sidalaimāḍam, Arugantuḍaval, Vāgu-kal, Ariyāḷ vayakkal (½) Mukkam (½), Karuppukkāl.
		Vāṇiyankuḍi channel	Kaḷḷicey.
		Vayalkuḍi channel	Tambirāṭṭiyārcey, Kāṇiyanśey, Amuḷiccey, Gaṇavatiyār tuḍaval, Karuppukkāl, Māṟamukkāṇi.
		Pattal-vāykkāl branching off from Pungancēri-vāykkāl (channel)	Kusavattuḍaval, Viḷappulaccey, Siru-Kappukkal.
		Viḷānayadikkuḍi channel	Tavasituḍaval, Vanniśey, Vaḍukittuḍaval, Dēvi-Vayakkal,

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Melai-nallūr			Kulaccey, Tiruccirṛambala vayakkal, Varavai, Kāduveṭṭi (½)
Ālattūr			Kalamjey.
Vilāngurattūr			Pakkantuḍaval, Anaivayakkal.
	Mēlaimaḍai		Ilanganattiśey, Vanniśey, Pirakkaṇ, Neḍungaṇṇilam, Nāvaṛtuḍaval, Nadukkaṛ-śey, Karuppukkāl, Kavālipperunjey.
Mangalam	Mēlai-maḍai		Kalasappuram, Naripurali, Nāgarsey, Ālantuḍaval, Tiruvāyppāḍi vayakkal, Maṇṇituḍaval, Mānguḍiarayan vayakkal, (seed bed), Niṇamśey, Kudiraiśey, Sātti vayakkal(including Sātti vayakkal paṇṇai).
	Kiḻamaḍai	Channel from the sluice	Neḍumbāḍunilam, Kaḻisarai varavai.
		Punganceri channel	Koṛṛituḍaval, Erumaisey, Murugittuḍaval.
Kīḻ pramaḍaikkuḍi			Tiruvarangan vayakkal (½) Mungiśey, Sollai-vayakkal

APPENDIX II

A table of different rates of Kadamai and Antarayam levied for the different varieties of crops grown, both irrigated (II-A) and unirrigated (II-B).

II-A IRRIGATED CROPS

Name of Village (1)	*P. I. No.* (2)	*Pisanam Main Crop* K T P N (3)	*Kuruvai* (4)	*Wet Van payir (Navarai)* (5)	*Well-irrigated paddy* (6)	*Others* (7)
		All per mā. 1 mā = 33 cents				
		ALANGUDI TALUK				
Tiruvarangulam	176	10 1 1 –				
,,	434	15 – – –				
Palangarai (S. 1403 A. D. 1481)	819 820		1/3	As per custom of the Division		
		KULATTUR TALUK				
Malayadipatti (Vira-Raja 24)	116	3 – – –			1/2 of 3 kalam	
Kulattur	274		Arpasi: 5/8	Navarai 1/2		

(Mar. Sundara-pandya 10)	275	15 - - -	K T P N Adi : 7 1 1 - Arpasi: 9 1 - 4		
Nattāmalai	280 281			1/6 (Kodai bogam)	
Perumānāḍu	350	6 - - - plus 2 panam	Adi : 1/2 Arpasi : 3/4		
Kuḍumiyāmalai	383	7¾ - - - plus 1/8 panam			
Ālattūr	533	3 - - - plus 1/2 panam			
Kadavampaṭṭi	544	8 - - -	Tank irrigated: 6 kalams Well-irrigated: 4 kalams		4 kalams
Ālattūr	589	5 - - -			
Narttamalai	620	5 - - -	1/2 (2½ kalams)		

TIRUMEYYAM TALUK

Kaṇṇanur	250	5 2 1 4 (reducing	3/4 Dry paddy

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
		2 kalams for capital *mudal taken*)	K T Ku. Ul. 3 2 3 3			
Neivāsal	254	2 1 1 –		1/2 (Kudai)		
	257	2 – – –	1/2			
	260 262 265 267	2 – – – $\frac{1}{4}$ Dramam Antarayam	1 kalam & 1/8 Dramam - i.e., 1/2			Column 3 also for sugarcane.
	305	2 1 – – 1/2 Dramam : Antarayam	1/2	1/2 (Kodai)	(Lift by baling) Ettairavai 1/4	-do-
	308	1 1 1 – and mukkani; plus $\frac{1}{4}$ Dramam: pullicorru	1/2	1/2	-do-	
	317 321	2 – – – 1/2 dramam :	Adi : 1/4 Arpasi: 1/2			
Oliyamangalam	345	6 – – – & 3/8 panam				Same as col. 3 for turmeric, gingely, betel & sugarcane.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5).	(6)	(7)
	349	5 – – – & 1/8 panam				
Ādanūr	351	3/4 of varisai	1/4			
Sevalūr	419				Dry paddy, 1 Kalam for yielded years.	
Oliyamangalam	541	7 1 1 – & $6\frac{1}{2}$ kasu			1/2 of col. 3.	
Virāccilai	596	7 – – – & 12 Panam			If well or kuli-baling at transplanting: 1/3.	Same as col. 3 for sugarcane, turmeric, etc.
,,	393	7 1 1 – & 80 kasu (Also for Arpasi kuruvai)	Adi: 3/4 i.e., 5-7-4 & 60 Kāsu	Same as col. 3 for citrai kuruvai	Same baling at flowering or in ears:2/5	Rates collectable only for fields into which the sickle and hayrope were taken
Mēlathāṇiyam	624	8 – – –	1/2		Also in Kottayur (PI 647)	

APPENDIX II *(Continued)*

A table of different rates of Kadamai and Antarayam levied for the different varieties of crops grown both irrigated (IIA) and unirrigated (II-B)

(II-B UNIRRIGATED CROPS:)

Name of Village	*P. I. No.*	*Gingely*	*Varagu*	*Tinai*	*Payaru*	*Kambu Samai*	*Cotton*	*Others*
				All per mā				
				ALANGUDI TALUK				
Tiruvaranguḷam	176 434					15 kasu, 1/6 of col. 3 for grains measured by ma-rakkal in Table II-A.	60 kasu plus 3 nali cotton-seed oil.	
Pa̱langarai	819 820	1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4	1/6		
Malayaḍipaṭṭi	116	5/8	5/8	5/8	5/8	5/8		
Kuḷattūr	275	1/6	3 K.	2 K.	1/6			
Perumā Nāḍu	350	1/8	1/4	1/4				Mango: 1/10
Kuḍumiyāmalai	383	3/4		3/4				1 panam for dry crops

Name of Village	*P. I. No.*	*Gingely*	*Varagu*	*Tinai*	*Payaru*	*Kambu Samai*	*Cotton*
Kaḍavampaṭṭi	544	2 K.		2 K.	2 K.		
Ālattūr	589		1/2 of 5 K.	1/2 of 5 K.	1/2 of 5 K.		
Nattamalai	620	$1\frac{1}{2}$ pan.	1/4 of col. 3	1/4 of col. 3	1/4 of col. 3		
			of Table II-A				
TIRUMEYAM TALUK							
Kaṇṇanūr	250	1/4	1/2 of				
		col. 3 of Table II-A (in paddy)					
Neivasal	254	1/4					
	260	1 T.		1 T.			
	262	1 P.		1 P.			
	265	plus 1/16		plus 1/16			
	267	Dramam		Dramam			
	305			1/4 of col. 3 of Table II-A			
	(317)						

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	317 321	1/4	1/4	1/4				
Oliyamangalam	345	One pan.	1/2 of col. 3 of II-A	1/2 of col. 3 of II-A				Brinjal & Pampkin Pusani : one panam
	349	Kuruni oil	3 K. & 1/8 pan.					
	541	One pan.	2 K.	2 K.				
Virāccilai	596	1/3	1/3	1/3				
Mēlataṇaiyam	624	2 pan.	1/4 pan.					-Do-
Virāccilai	393	2T. 1K. + 10 Kasu	1/2 of the full charge Kuruvai 3 K. 2 T. 1 (Ku)+40 kasu			1 Tuni		Betel: K. KU. N. 13 1 4 + 140 kasu Fruit bearing : trees: 2 panam

NOTE : K = Kalam Ku = Kurni N = Nali Ol = Olakku
P = Padakku Pan. = Panam T = Tuni

THE BURDEN OF LAND DUES UNDER THE PANDYA AND THE VIJAYANAGAR RULE AND AFTER

The predominantly rainfed character and the precarious agricultural conditions in the Pudukkōṭṭai tract have been brought out in the study/on "Irrigation". The tract was being progressively colonised and extension of agriculture was being undertaken during the Pallava and the Cōḷa periods. In that process the tract was being formed into nāḍus, and lands apportioned among the settlers (*Nāḍu Vagai seikinṟa*)[1] predominantly the ūrārs and less of the a nagar and Brahmadēya types, even till late in the Imperial Cōḻa period, during Kulōttunga III's Time. Tanks were being formed and renovated and lands were being reclaimed.[3] Temples were being erected in the Pallava and early Cōḻa times[4] and were being progressively added to, and enlarged throughout this period.[5]

Though we have evidence of the rigours of land dues and taxation from elsewhere in the Cōḻa country[6] no recorded evidence of such distress conditions had surfaced, as yet, in the Pudukkōṭṭai tract, perhaps because colonisation and extension of agriculture were still in progress. By the end of the 12th century agricultural extension activity was getting stabilised, somewhat, and a pattern of land dues had emerged by then.

During the Pāṇḍyan rule and after, the agrarion community was feeling the stress and strain imposed by such land-dues. This study brings out the growing pressure on the agricultural communities in the tract, the straits to which they were reduced, and the means they had, perforce, to adopt to meet the land-dues.

The burden of land dues had already been causing a strain to individual holders who had to abandon their lands, and consequently the obligation to remit the dues fell on the collective township organisation, in the absence of (*gnātis*) agnates or in the event of their unwillingness, even in the Pāṇḍyan Times The water-shed tract lay in

between the theatres of the frequent conflicts between the Cōḻa and the Pāṇḍyan forces in their struggle for supremacy, and changed hands often. The Hoysālas who had intervened in the mid-13th century to hold the balance sometimes, did little to relieve the burden. The strain had increased in the later Pāṇḍyan times and more so under the Vijayanagar and Nāyak Chieftains. This study traces this growing strain on the holders of land, and on the community as evidenced by the inscriptions. While the available data do not help quantify the incidence of land levies, that they were exacting could be inferred from the conduct of the people, and the recorded transactions. An early inscription of Māṛavarman Sundara I (who was pleased to take Cōḻa country - 3rd year A.D. 1219) recorded that the four Kuḍis (residents) and the (*Eṇmar*) eight chieftains (?) of Vārāppūr had agreed as the ūr that when the Vārāppūr holders of land pay *Kaḍamai* from that (3rd regnal) year the share of the land dues shall be determined for the ūr as a unit (*ūr onṛāha, oru puravāha viḷukkāḍu viṛukkavum)*. They made over the *Pāḍikkāval* dues paid to them for the repair works of Tiruvagastīsvara muḍaiyār temple in the village. They also repudiated any sale or mortgage of the *Pādikkāval* dues that might have been made earlier, and forfeited such rights if any, created, which they now made over to the Temple.[7]

In the 8th year of the same reign, the ūrār of Sevalūr sold to the temple of (Sundaram) Sundaracōḻapuram the ayacut of Ālavayal together with the tank which were the holding of Vijaya Nārayanap-periyān and Arasunārāyaṇapperiyān of the Kāvanūr group (*kūṭṭam*). These holders had failed to pay the cash dues demanded in writing in the month of Māsi (February) by the chieftain Kāngēyarāya and they fled the village unable to pay the dues. The tax dues and levies were to be borne by[8] the ūrār and the sale price was 12 *paḷamkāsu.*

Eight years later (A.D. 1232) Āḻvāndēvan, a land-holder of Vīsalūr had failed to tender the land dues in kind and cash.[9] The ūrār of Vīsalūr were taken to task (*danikka*) by the royal officers to cause the dues to be paid by the agnates of the defaulter. No agnate came forward to settle the dues. Hence his field Kuḷappaṭṭi was sold in auction by the ūrār to a benefactor, Sankaran Kaṇḍan *alias* Kali Kaḍindadēvan of Kuḷattūr for endowing it to meet the expenses on the hunting festival of the deity of

Kuḍumiyamalai. The sale price was 1500 *current new good kāśu.* The ūrār of Visalūr had agreed to defray the *kaḍamai, Antarāyam* and other levies themselves in return for a further capitalised amount of *kāsu* 500 paid to them. The proceeds were distributed as follow:

	Kāsu
(1) The prior mortgage on the land to be redeemed.	1000
(2) The amount borrowed to pay off the defaulted land dues.	500
(3) To defray the kaḍamai and other dues by the ūrār (from out of the interest proceeds).	500
	2000

The capitalisation amount for the land dues was 1/3 of the land value paid. Interest rates had varied from 12½·/. to 30·/.[10]. Presuming a mean rate of say 20·/. as the yield-rate on this capitalisation the annual rate of *kaḍamai* and other dues to be met would work out to 1/15 of the sale value or 6.7 ·/. If a higher rate of interest at 30·/. were to be presumed this percentage will rise to 10·/. These did not include sundry community levies on the land.

In the 21st year of the same reign (A.D. 1237) the Maṛava residents of the Madurai township constituting the ūr lamented that the revenue demand determined for the township payable in cash could not be remitted, and the King's officers (*pērāḷar*) caused them many inflictions (*Palavedinai seidaviḍattu*) and unable to bear such inflictions, and as they had no alternative (*Engaḷukku maṛṛoru seidi illāmayal*) they sold their holdings in Madurāntakapuram, to remit the land dues, the sale including the lands, tanks and the housesites thereon for 8000 *kāsu* to the temple of Iḍaiyāṛṛūr. They also agreed to bear the *Iṛai* (land dues in kind) *Kuḍimai* (obligations of tenants) and *Antarāyam* (paid in cash)[11].

In view of this obligation undertaken by the ūrār, applying the same proportion as was explicit in the last case, the capitalised value of land dues would work out to 1600 *kāsu*, and land value *per se* 6400 *kāsu*.

In (Circa A.D. 1268) the 15th year of Jatāvarman Vīrapāṇḍya, the

Vīsalūr ūrār were demanded to directly remit the taxes on some lands held as *Paṇṇai* by a nobleman under the former regime, which the new Pāṇḍyan generals, Kāngēyan and Varadarāyar had objected to. They urged the ūrār to terminate the *Paṇṇai* (personal cultivation) by the nobleman Vaippuruḍayār and pay in cash direct the State dues in their proportion out of the total demand for the nāḍu. The ūrār could not remit the cash dues settled for them by the new regime and had no alternative to sell 3 *vēlis* of land together with irrigation rights and sources for 64000 kāsu to the Kuḍumiyāmalai temple with full rights of appropriating the yield to the temple (*Kōil uḻavu Muṟṟūttāka*[12]).

The sale value was met out of the temple funds as detailed below: 50000 kāsu were remitted from out of the amount kept for the renovation and construction of the stone temple. 4000 kāśu were the supplemental (*Parisaṭṭa mudal*) capital with the ūrār and another 10,000 were, similarly a supplemental capital deposited with the Nāḍu. The ūrār agreed to bear the responsibilities to contribute labour, *eccōru* and *Kūṟṟarici*. The Iraṇḍukarai - Nāṭṭār agreed, likewise, to bear the taxes in cash and proportionate obligations that devolved on the Nāḍu In this case while the land-value *per se* was 50000 kāśu, the capitalised value of the levies to be borne by the ūrār was 4000 kāsu, and that by the Nāṭṭār was 10000 kāsu together 14,000 kāsu, which would work out to roughly 22·/. of the total amount received or 28./· of the land value.

Next year (AD 1268-69) six land holders and their coholders failed to remit the land dues. The royal agents took the ūrār of Srīpirāntakanallūr to task and demanded cash. The ūrār having no alternative got a loan of 8 *panca calākai accu* from one Tirugnānasambandan and sold lands in their village as Maḍappuṟa-Iṟaiyili under the ūr i.e , the ūr agreeing to bear tax dues on the land, the vendee being a religious Maṭha. In doing so the ūrār also agreed not to collect the per capita cash tax for the residents in the *nattam* and cash assessment on the trees.[13]

In the 18th year of Māravarman Kulasēkhara (circa A.D. 1286) a landholder in Kāraiyūr, Vēḷan Eṭṭi Sengadir Cōḻan mūvēndavēḷān sold the lands of his younger brother in public auction for 100 *paṇam* to the temple as "Tirunāmattukkāṇi" as the temple had already the *Dēvadāna Kaḍamai* on the land assigned in its favour. The vendor was obliged to

do so as the Royal officer Brahmādarāyar threatened him that for the arrears due from him the holder should be kept in prison and his honour should be at stake (*Ennai Sirayil vaithu mānam pōkkidavēnumenru sollukayil).*[14]

Two years later, in the 20th year of Māravarman Kulasekhara ("Emmandalamum Kondaru iya" A.D. 1288) the ūrār of Sevalūr sold the land belonging to the holders Tālinallaran *alias* Urra Kainerukki and Tālimakkanārāyan as they defaulted in the payment of their taxe demanded in the month of Citrai (April-May), As there was no means of paying the arrears and the royal officers caused several painful inflictions (*Engalai pannāda vēdanaikal pannugaiyil*) the ūrār brought the defaulter's land to sale and sold it to the temple, as ūr-kīl-irayili, i.e. the taxes being borne by the ūrār.[15]

Again in the 35th year of Maravarman Kulasēkhara (Emmandala mum Kondaruliya) Rājaraja Cōla Velār and others of Kīlattāniyam in *Ollaiyūrkūrram* cited Viluppadarāyar as a surety (Punai) and ran away. When the royal officers demanded the revenue due, the holdings (Kāni) of these deserted occupant were sold and a part of it was made a usufructory mortage of to raise money. Thereafter, one-half of the holding in Peccivayal was sold as Kudi-nīnga Devadānam for 40 panam. Vīra cōla mūvēnda velān and others sold the other-half belonging to them for 40 panam, in all for 80 panam to the Uthamadānīsvaramudaiyār temple. The two parties executed the deed, and it was written by the accountant of the ūr.[16]

In the 7th year of Jatāvarman Parākrama Pāndya's reign (A.D. 1322 ?) the Nāttār of Tenkōnādu in Ollaiyūr Kūrram, the nagaram and grāmas of Kōnādu sold a village to one weaver (*Kaikōlar*) Kandan Alagiya Sokkanār *alias* Vīra Pāndya Māluva Cakravarti of Madurai under the following circumstances. The dues for 2 shares (*2 kūru*) of the village Illanūr in their Nādu were in default from the headman (Kilavan) of Illanūr, who had cited Periyadevan of Kilmananallūr as a surety. The Kilavan did not pay the *kadamai* and deserted the village. The Nāttār as the Nādu summoned Periyadēvan and demanded of him to pay the *kadamai* as he had stood surety and granted him time till Purattāsi month (September-October). Periyadēvan admitte his surety liability but pleaded his inability to pay the dues, and gave away his own holdings in Kilmana nallūr and got his release from the

surety-liability before the Nāṭṭār. Then the nāṭṭār summoned Pillān Sokkan as the residual $\frac{1}{3}$ shareholder and demanded of him to pay up the dues for the entire village (presumably by his purchasing $\frac{2}{3}$ share of the defaulting Kiḻavan also). But he too pleaded his inability to pay for his own $\frac{1}{3}$ share, and permitted the Nāṭṭār to sell the village as a whole including his share. Apparently the fields in the holding had not been divided by metes and bounds but held in undivided share (*pangu*). The village Illanūr was hence sold for 1100 *paṇam* in public auction in Tula month (October-November) to the vendee, excluding the tax-free lands endowed for Dēvadānā and men (Maniccar Iṛayili) shares other than the Dēvadāna. The immutable *kaḍamai* (*vāḍāk kaḍamai*) (land dues) for the village Illanūr was separately (*Tuṇḍippāha*) fixed at 330 *paṇam* to be paid in two instalments per year of $\frac{6}{10}$th and $\frac{4}{10}$th respectively. The lands sold did not carry any other obligations like *Kārtikaip paccai* and *āḷthēvai* (levy of free labour).

It will be seen that the *kaḍamai* dues in this case worked out to $\frac{3}{10}$ or 30·/. of the sale value of the land. This was an index of the high incidence of land demand and the consequent inability of the holders to meet it frequently noticed. The low proportion of the sale value to the land demand could be attributed to the distress conditions under which the sale had been effected, when the two holders and the surety for one of them all pleaded their inability to pay and relinquished their holdings. The fact that the Nāṭṭār, the nagarattār and the villages of the Nāḍu as a whole were impelled to sell the village to an 'outsider' from Madurai could also be a measure of the distress conditions.[17]

In the same year the ūrār of Punnanguḍi registered that the royal levy on lands in their village could not be borne by them (*Engaḷūr Kaḍamaikku Nāngaḷ āṛṛāda paḍiyāle*) and that they had to sell the village common holding (*ūr poduvāna*) jiyanēri tank and its ayacut as varisai vilai, kuḍinīnga dēvadāna for 600 *kuḷigaip paṇam*. The vendee Periya Uḍayan Sūriyadēvan was to have the permanent occupancy, and pay the scheduled levies out of the yield to the temple.[18]

In this instance the ūrār had to augment their resources for paying land dues by selling a portion of the ayacut held in common. The reverse instance of a land enjoyed by an individual holder including

Siva Brāhmanās (temple priests) which, for their default in payment of land dues, was allowed to be resumed by the ūrār and added to the common holding of the village was later granted for the (*uvaccan*) piper service in Tirumeyyam temple.[19] (*Karumāṇikka Pallavadarayar anubhavithu Irai yārrāmai, ūr poduvāga pōgaviṭṭa nilathilum. Siva Brāhmanar ūr poduvāga pōgaviṭṭa nilathilum*).

Even the temple authorities were not exempt from the rigorous pursuit of dues. The temple authorities of Agastīsvara temple in Neivāsal had to borrow 12 *Irāsi paṇam* from a Brahmin Appiḷḷār in Pullamangalam to pay up the dues to the king (*Inniyanār Kaḍamaikku*) from the temple. The lender hauled up the temple authorities before the royal officials, seeking return of the capital. The temple authorities again borrowed this amount from Avayān Periyan *alias* Toṇḍaimānār of Sūraikkuḍi. In return they agreed to give him 12 *kalam* of paddy in two instalments per year of ¾ and ¼.[20] They could deduct therefrom any loss due to water scarcity, drought and destruction by soldiers (*Nīrsvāi, Varaccāvi, Paḍai aḷivu*). Thoṇḍamānār had to keep watch and ward over the temple precincts and its adjoining area and the temple lands and to investigate all losses occuring therein. Thoṇḍamānār was also to get some privileges and food during festivals including the kārtigai festival and some dress or clothing. This was in the 40th year of Māravarman Vīra Pāṇḍya.

The exacting nature of these demands got aggravated during the Hoysāla intrusion in the Cōla country and in the tract during the first half of the 13th century. In the second year of Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara (the son of Māravarman Sundara I (?), the two ūrārs of Vayalagam (North and South) sold two *Taḍis* to their village temple in the following circumstances. During the period the *nāḍu* was paying land dues to Vallāḷa Dēvar[21] (Ballaḷa II?) the Kannaḍiyars imprisoned the ūrār for arrears, They had no other recourse to get release except to pledge the jewellery of the Deity which they offered. After their release they could not repay the amount due to the temple and hence sold their lands, agreeing to bear the taxes and levies themselves. The Vayalaga Nāṭṭār also subscribed to this deed.[22]

A second instance where the jewellery of the temple deity was utillised for paying land dues arrears was from Tiruvaranguḷam. In the 9th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya Perunaṛkiḷḷi Cōḻa Nāḍāḻvār had defaulted

in the State dues, till the ninth year of the reign, aggregating to 11,000 *kāsu*. The Nāṭṭār of Vallanāḍu sold the defaulter's holding to the temple and in lieu of the cash, the Silver Tirukoḷkai which had adorned the deity was pledged (*Iduvittu*) and 11,000 *kāsu* were obtained to pay off the dues. The land sold was not burdened with levies which the Nāṭṭār agreed to bear themselves. The proceeds from such dues were utilised for the Mārgaḻi-Tiruvādirai festival which the Nāṭṭār had instituted as their service.[23] If this Tirukoḷkai was identical with another referred to in PI-1060, perhaps a later replacement to the same deity, it would have weighed 260 *kaḻanju* of silver.

In the later Pāṇḍya Times, in Māravarman Parākrama's 6th year, the ūrār of Mettāṇīiyam were oppressed by the officials of Avan Nārīyaṇa Dēvar for remitting the *kaḍamai* of the village. They hadi no alternative to sell the village common holding measuring 16 *mā* for *varāgan kuḷigai paṇam* 400, as Kuḍinīngā Dēvadānam. While stipulating the (*Varisai*) share payable to the temple they reserved to themselves the right to collect, one *paṇam* for kuḍi per year for all cultivators inducted from without the village, and taking residence in the ūr nattam.[24]

In the 13th year of Māṟavarman Avani Vēnda Rāman Sīvaladēva in his communication to the Sengunranāṭṭār in Kananāḍu (Vradarāja-bhayankara vaḷanāḍu) the King recalled that the determined demand (*Nircayapinpadi*) the Kānāḍu had to pay was *Kuligaipaṇam* 10010, and odd. Out of that the Sengunṟanāttār holdings inclusive of the tax on cloth, āyam, taxes on shepherd was ⅕ viz. *Pon*...40. As these holdings were all forest-grown, and lay waste, and no arable fields existed therein, and as these nāṭṭar were unable to bear the taxes and migrated elsewhere (*Tāngaḷum Iṟuppaṟṟāmal Dēsāndarattilē Pōgayāle*) the King proceeded to suitably moderate his demand from that date; the details of which were not available in the inscriptions[25] But from a connected record which recalled the King's letter, it could be seen that the Suraikkuḍi chieftain had reduced the cash remittance by ⅛. The nāṭṭar were also granted some concessions in the services they had to render, and only providing the soldiery (*paḍaiyum sēvithu*) and a few other obligations were to be demanded from them. They were also to receive some honours from the temple.[26] A similar reduction for loyal service to the chieftain was granted by Vijayālaya

Thēvar to the land-holder-garrisons of Viraccilai and Kōṭṭaiyūr in A.D. 1449.[27a] Against a total demand of 3200 *aḍūra paṇam* 900 *paṇams* were waived and a further 1/6 of the residual amount per year for the two Paḍaiparrus.

Again, in the 26th year of the same ruler, the nāṭṭārs of Ten-Siruvāiyil and Kuḷamangalam together sold the village Iṛaiyur as the Iṛaiyur holders had failed to pay the king's dues upto the 24th year, and there was none left to pay it as they had deserted (*Irāsagaram Iṛuppār Illādu Oḻigaiyil*). The Nāṭṭar agreed to bear the Rājakaram and sold it for current *varahan paṇam* 500 as Iṛaiyili, to one Aḻagiyān *alias* Rājarāja Cōḻan son of Sundara Pāṇḍya Gambīran of Ponviḷainda Kaḷattūr.[28]

A tendency was also noticed during this period for the State dues to be demanded in the form of a "determined amount" (*Niccayippān-amudal*) for the ūr as a whole[29] and / or for the Nāḍu.[30] The usage of the Nāḍu (*Nāṭṭu mariyādi*) was more commonly stipulated for adoption[31] and reductions were made to mitigate the growing burden in proportionate fractions. For instance, the Vīraikkuḍi Nāṭṭār were allowed to pay from the 14th year of an unspecified reign 1/2 of the determined demand.[32]

Attempts have also been made, off and on, to redetermine the land dues from the Nāḍu as when in (Saka' 1348) A.D. 1426 Sūriya Dēvan *alias* Kulasēkhara Toṇḍaimān, carried out his father's orders that the Nāṭṭār of Pālaiyūr should have the following as the determined demand for the Nāḍu:

"For the yielding lands, per *mā*, excluding the Svantantram for the chieftain (Arasu) or *Pāḍi Kaval* 60 *kalams* and 10 *paṇams* as penalty for offences. The per capita tax on children/minor (?) shall deduct the tax on the kāraṇappēr (guardians). They shall not claim penalty on the ground the capital was in arrears.[33]

During the Vijayanagar rule this burden of State dues on land had continued. In the reign of Vīra Pratāpa Dēvarāya (II) in Krōdi year the ūrār of Kālattāṇiyam, Melattāṇīyam, Ollaiyur mangalam, Kīḻakuḍi *alias* Tirunārāyaṇa Caturvēdimangalam, Kerkuḍi and Melmaṇanallūr, and Kiḻmaṇanallūr all joined together and they were obliged to sell the 'Marakkala Svatantaram' or the privilege of collecting 1 *kalam* per *mā* and some other levies due to the ūrārs for 750

paṇams distributed among the townships as follows:

Kīḻatttāṇiyam	200
Mēlāttaṇiyam	200
Ollaiyūrmangalam	50
Kilāḍkuḍi *alias* Tirunārāyaṇa	
Cāturvēdimangalam.	50
Karkuḍi (?)	150
Mēlamaṇanallūr Kīḻamaṇanallūr	100
	750

They were obliged to do so because the ūrārs had no means to meet the demand shown against this village by Annappuḍayār in the year Sarvāri.[34]

Inability to meet the demands of the Nāyak chieftains or the deputies in the Vijayanagar rule were repeatedly noticed in the first half of the 16th century.

In A.D. 1501[35] (S' 1423) the ūrār of Rājasingamangalam sold their common holding called Ēranēri for *sakkram* 250. They had to do so because they had borrowed this amount to meet the quantum by which they fell short (*pagudimuṭṭu*) for payment of the village demand which was raised in supercession of the determined amount in vogue in prior times (*Munnāḷ aṟṟa niccayippu anṟi kāṇikkai pūṇḍa ilakkattukku paguti muṭṭukku vāngi kuḍuppitta paṇam*).[36]

In A.D. 1503 (Saka 1425) the ūrār of Tenūr sold the Puduvayal ayacut in their village to the Temple in return for the 300 *Sakkara paṇam* which they had earlier borrowed from the temple to pay the king's dues (*Kāṇikkai*-tribute).[37]

In A.D. 1510 (Saka 1432) the Vaḻuttūr (Arasu) Chieftain Tīrāda Vinaithīrthān *alias* Vīra Narasinga Nāyakkap Pallavarāyan sold his "Sīrmai" (principality) Puduvur for 30 *pon* to the Kuḍumiyāmalai temple as he had no means of paying the *Kāṇikkai* which Vīra Narasingarāyan (the Nayak governor ?) was pleased to demand against his holding.[38]

Eight years later in A.D. 1518 (Saka 1440) the ūrār of Kāraiyūr had no means of meeting the *Ilakkam* (amount/figure demanded) of the village and sold the *pāḍikkāval* svatantram for 110 *Cakra paṇam* to one Adanamaḻagiyān.[39]

In Siddhārta year (A.D. 1499) during the reign of Mallikārjuna's son, the ūrārs of Pālaikkuḍi, Kaḷanguḍi and Kiḷinallūr and those having *pāḍikkāval* rights in the three villages stated that they were unable to remit the land demand apportioned to these three villages due to the Chieftain, Narasa Nāyakkan and sold all the three villages as Dēvadāna to Tiruvaranguḷam temple (excluding the earlier Dēvadānas) with the demand - equivalent amount itself as the sale price - (*Iṛaiyēvilaiyāga*). The Arayans who had bought lands and got mortgage rights thereon also attested the deed.[40]

The Nāṭṭār of Vallanāḍu, recalling the above transaction in (Saka 1442 Pramadhi) A.D. 1520 agreed that the temple authorities might commit direct cultivation (*paṇṇai*) on these lands, inducting cultivating tenants of their choice. They also undertook to take on the Nāḍu the proportionate cash dues for the three villages that were divided internally in the accounts of the Nāḍu. (*Nāṭṭu kkanakkin uḷvarippaḍi pirivuvanda pon uḷḷathum nāngal nāṭṭin mēr pōttukkoṇḍu ūr torum āḷvariaga Araiyaṛkaḷe iṛuppār āgavum*). The per capita tax for the villages shall also be paid by the Arayars themselves. Miscellaneous demands on these Dēvadāna villages shall also be borne by the Nāḍu.[41]

In (Saka 1445) A.D. 1523, (Suthānu) the same Nāṭṭār further made a grant. As the planetary position was malevalent to the Nāḍu and the Chieftain Ponnambala Toṇḍaimānār, to propitiate the planets, they further discontinued the per capita tax they had been collecting from the residents/tenants in the above three villages. Apparently the arrangement made three years earlier was for the Arayans to make aggregate payments to the temple, themselves collecting the per capita tax from the resi-dents/tenants in the village. Now they remitted the per capita tax collected hitherto from the tenants/residents. They further stipulated that the services and the dues from the Veḷḷaḷas and the tenants coming from outside shall be utilised by the Temple.[42]

In (Saka 1454) A.D. 1532 in Acyuta Rāya's time the Vaḍapaṛṛu Madiyaṇi ūrār sold to the temple of Pūvāḷaikkuḍi as tax free Dēvadāna their holdings as some holders including V ra Nāḍāḻvān deserted without paying land dues, and the ūrār were unable to bear the cumulative demand (*Ilakkam*)[43], fixed by Rāyappa Nāyakkar seated at Tiruppattūr.

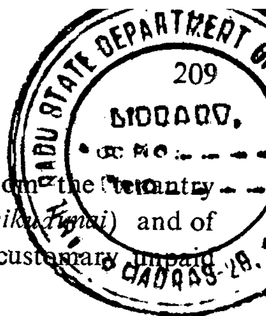
In the same year Vaḍapaṛṛu Madiyṇi *ūrār* declared some lands

as tax free, as they could not pay the land-revenue demand fixed by Semma Nāyakkar camping at Tiruppattūr. The lands were in the holding of Pillaimalai Nādālvān.

Perhaps, it was in this prevailing context, of the amount demanded being varied, in supercession of earlier norms, and of that being excessive, that the men of Nārtāmalai Sīrmai met and concluded an agreement - deed among themselves in Visaya (Vijaya) year. The lands in the Sīrmai Nādu shall be measured as one unit and the land dues shall be calculated there on, after reckoning with good and bad, and dues for temples and charities etc. If any one acted without standing by the agreement and yielded to the royal demand (*Rājakārattukku ulkuduthu*) and acted treacherously to the Nādu he shall be liable to be hit (physically) and held down and his land, house site, and holding shall be confiscated to the Nārttāmalai temple. The Nāttār shall also have accountants agree able to the Nādu.[45]

A sum up and conclusion

Inscriptions fully brought out that the coercive processess used extended from a threat of imprisonment to dishonour the defaulter, to physical inflictions and injury or torture (*vēdinai*), besides confiscation of the holdings. These were resorted to even against the ūrār and the Nāttār to enforce their collective responsibility for ensuring payment of land demand and levies, which fell into arrears. Even if the holders had abandoned the lands or had deserted the village, responsibility for the defaulted amount devolved on the agnates first. If they were not to be found, or could not or would not accept the burden, the collective responsibility of the ūrār and the Nāttar was invoked. The ūrār invariably had to sell the defaulter's holding and in other cases the common holdings of the township (*ūr podu*) to satisfy such demand, where the ūrār could not bear the demand or amount in default within their available resources. The ūrār and the temple authorities also did not hesitate to press into service, at times, the temple properties, cash and jewellery to secure relief. In the specific instances quoted, the fact that the cash had been funded for the renovation and reconstruction of the temple, or that the jewellery had actually been in use adorning the deity did not deter them from utilising these temple properties. Paying regard to the medieval psychology with its consciousness of sanctity attached to temple properties, it could be inferred how



Also only one half of the customary levies from the tenantry due when the king visited the village (*Tiruveluccikkumai*) and of those due to the Nāḍu were to be demanded. No customary unpaid labour was to be demanded.

Apparently, the quantum was reduced in lieu of an endowment for service in the shrine of Bālasubrahmaṇya - the War God-in Kaṇṇanūr, where the record was inscribed.

In the 28th year of Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya, by an order of the Chieftain Kāngēyarāyan, the following dues from the occupied holdings, 8 *mā, mukkāṇi araikkāṇi* in extent, of 2 Bhaṭṭas, Srī Rāma Bhaṭṭan and his younger brother Aḻagiya-maṇavāḷa Bhaṭṭar in Kaidavam (Kadavampaṭṭi) *alias* Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷa-caturvēdimangalam were granted. The lands were in Nelvāy-ayacut and in Kūḍalūr-ayacut. The content of the grant was the Kīḻ-iṟai (Antarāyam) and for Paśānam, Sirukōḍai and dry crops, the kaḍamai dues thereon, at the rates prevailing in the village. The grant was described as Kuḍinīngadēvadānam,[15] *i.e.* a Temple-grant with un-extinguished occupancy.

The grant could also be an assignment of the Kaḍamai and other dues from out of Jīvitam lands by the Chieftain who granted the lands as Jīvitam to a beneficiary, directing the beneficiary to pay the dues hitherto payable to the grantee to the temple.[16] Or, the Kārāṇmai or land-holdership could be left to the assignee, and the Kaḍamai or state dues from the land to the temple.[17] The Jīvitam holder himself could assign his own rights to the temple, and stipulate the rates at which paddy dues were to be measured to the temple.[18]

Sometimes a royal grant of the King's dues was followed by the Nāḍu giving up its share. A Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān record converted 1-1/2 mā of yielding lands of Ūr-Kīl-Iṟayili (*i e:* the Ūrār bore the land dues hitherto so that the temple could enjoy the lands tax free) into Dēvadāna Iṟayili from the 23rd year of Kulottunga III (AD 1189). In effect it meant the King's share of the land dues was also made over to the temple at Tiruvetpūr, and the Ūrār were relieved of the obligation to pay the land dues to the king they were bearing prior to the royal grant.[19]

Next year (AD 1190) citing the above order, the Nāṭṭār agreed that whatever was apportioned to the same lands here named as

"Kaṇṇan Nakkan Vayal", as payable to the Nāḍu shall also be "included" (in the grant as Dēvadāna Iṛaiyili) and this was agreed to be engraved. This was a supplemental grant by the Nāḍu of the share of land-obligations, payable[20] to them.

The Nāṭṭār also intervened when there were any unresolved interests to be settled. Ka akkuḍi in Kīḻcengili nāḍu had its Kaḍamai assigned to the Ālattūrmalai-uḍaiyār, Vāgisvara, in Mēcengili-nāḍu. There were apparently some differences as to what was payable to the temple. The Nāṭṭārs of both the nāḍus and the ūrārs finally decided the rates of kaḍamai (aṛudiyiṭṭapaḍi):—

For cultivated lands in which crops had taken roots.	per mā. 3 kalams to be measured at the temple granary.
For well-irrigated lands.	½ of the above rate.

⅙ of the proceeds shall be delivered as "ayam" to the royal treasury Three kuruṇies of paddy due for U!kani-Ilakkai" (super intending fee for temple representative at harvest?) shall also be measured together with the paddy to the temple.[21]

Grants from Village Common or Ur-podu

Grants of lands from the Ūr-podu or village common for temple services or for maintenance and upkeep or for provisioning for festivals were, of course, too common. These might be outright grants, the Ūrār agreeing to bear the land dues to the King by distributing the amount on the entire common holdings, and the township revenue (Ūr-Kīl-Iṛaiyili)[22]. Alternatively the grant might be of their own share where the King or Cnieftain had already granted his share. A third course adopted was for the Ūrār to collect a capitalised amount as part of the sale-proceeds for land sold, so that they could pay the annual land-dues from the interest on such capital. This method was known as "Irai-Kāval" (Tax-vigil). The Sabhayār of Tiruvēngaivāsal having received 41 kāsu from Sāttan Tirukōṭṭiyūr Māḍalavan Nārāyaṇan Mahādēvān *alias* Dharmisṭa Yōgi rendered the temple land endowed tax-free.[23] This last was often, combined with the sale of land after which the vendee endowed it for the temple.

The ūrār might sell the kārāṇmai interest alone. In 32nd year of Māṛavarman Kulasēkhara (A.D. 1300), the Nagarattār of

Cōḻa-Pāṇḍyapuram sold their holding in Eryankuḷam and Pudukuḷam to the temple of Agnīsvara-muḍaiyār in Pillamangalam as Kārāṇ-kiḻamai. On the same day of sale, the Nāṭṭār of Vṛdarāja-bhayankara-Vaḷanāḍu recalling this sale made it a tax-free land foregoing the accuvari, kaḍamai, ponvari, eccōṟu, paccai, vāsal-viniyōgam, nāṭṭu-viniyōgam, nagara-viniyōgam, etc.[24]

The 'pluralistic' character of the levies was also reflected by the competence of the various bodies, to waive or take on themselves, or undertake the fulfilment of these obligations against a capitalised deposit made with them. The King or the royal officers may or may not remit their own demand, but the Ūrār and Nāṭṭār could make themselves responsible for such land dues, and divide it among the several or common holdings. In practice, communal or religious or charitable purposes often invoked a ready response from the King and his officers or the Nāṭṭār or the Ūrār. Often the lead of the King and his chieftains granting the primary share of the dues had carried persuasion with the Nāṭṭār and the Ūrār who were not slow to follow suit waiving or capitalising their respective shares as well so that the benefit of the full immunity from dues of all kinds could accrue to the beneficiary.[25]

At the other end of the tenurial chain, as it were, were the private holdings which could be endowed for services. Srī Saṭagōpan son of Dasarata-Rāman of Cōḻa-sikhāmaṇi-caturvēdimangalam *alias* Samamangalanallūr (a Brahmadēya village) had received from the Sabhayār as Dharmadānam (charitable gift) a field called 'Giri-vayal' He endowed it as 'Kuḍinīngādēvadanam'[26] and himself agreed to bear the land dues (Kaḍamai). Private holdings could be sold carrying obligations to pay the assigned land-dues share to the temple.[27] A sale of private holding to the temple had been made, the vendors agreeing to bear the Iṟai and Kaḍamai, presumably the sale value of 10,000 kāśu had included a capitalised amount for payment of land dues by the vendors, who were individuals, Arankuḷavan-koṟṟan and his brothers, and another vendor Ciṟaiyannavilla-muttarayan and his brothers. The sale was to the temple.[28] There was a similar sale of land by a Brahmin resident of Pēraiyūr Mādavan...Nārāyaṇa......Mādhavan to the temple, and he undertook to pay all the land-dues himself.[29]

Sometimes occupant holders capitalised the land dues, and deposited an amount with the Nāṭṭār who agreed to pay the demand and make the lands tax-free. The occupant holders then converted themselves into tenants under the temple, with permanent occupancy rights and agreed to pay the rent or dues at the rates stipulated by them. A weaver attached to Tennangudi Temple made such a deed (Pramāṇam) and converted his holding (Kāṇi) into a Dēvadāna Kāṇi or a holding under the temple himself undertaking to pay rent at 4 kalams per mā at the temple gate. This was an instance of a conversion of a free-hold right of an occupant into a subrogated right of holding the land under the temple, at the same time relieving the temple of the obligation to pay land-dues.[30]

Capitalisation of Land dues and relief

In all these categories, whether a village common purchased and endowed by the vendee, or the personal holdings endowed by occupants, the most convenient arrangement would be to deposit a capitalised amount to safeguard the payment of land dues which the township could remit to the royal officers from the proceeds. This deposit could also take care of dues payable to the Nāṭṭār or the Ūrār. It could be inferred from the apportioned quantum of such capitalisation in a Kuḍumiyāmalai case that the share due to the Nāṭṭār was larger than that due to the Ūrār.[31]

The township and the Nāṭṭār were continuing collective entities. They had regular accounts and accountants to keep a watch, and ensure that the payment was made; more so, when the agencies and the obligations due were varied. The townships could also make collective or consolidated arrangements for the performance of services (āṭēvai, veṭṭi, kuḍimai) and the apportioned obligations (viniyōgam) due to the nāḍu, as such occasions would arise off and on and it would be irksome to work out methods for fulfilling them individually.

This was evidenced by an instance from Kīranūr dated 29th year of Rājarāja. The Ūrār of the following townships and the Arayars gave a deed making the lands endowed to the Temple at Kīranūr tax-free. The lands were occupied holdings (Paṟṟu), by name Kaḍamban-vayal, Arasan-vayal, Porkāri-vayal, Kunjiramuttarayan Kuḍikkāḍu - in Virudarāyakuricci. They were sold to the temple by

Kaḍamban Virudarāyan and those who had secured occupancy-holding rights from the Virudarāyars, Siriyan Edirilāpperumāḷ, alias Nāṭṭu Arayar, Ilakkiccān Konnān Marudāṇḍapparayan, Adaippān Nāyan, Kaḍamban-Nāyan, and Nāyan Kāḍan, Tanginān alias Kunjira-muttarayan Malaiyan Cōḷan alias Senai-pariputa Nāḍāḻvān and several others and the land was sold as Tirunāmattukkāṇi. The Ūrārs and Arayars who attested the deed were:

Iraṭṭapāḍi Koṇḍa Cōḷa Vaḷanāḍu	Urattūr Kūṟṟam
Kīḻkōnādu.	......
	(Arayar)
Puduvayal	Kaḍambarāyan.
Kiḻaippuduvayal	Vikrama-cōḷa-muttarayan
Kiḻkonādu	
Pappākkuricci	
Kalamayil	
Taccanpattu	
Paḷḷampancavan-mādēvi	Kuḻandarāyan
Virudarāya-kuricci	Virudārāyan
Ālattūr	
Annaiyūr	
Vadasiruvāynāḍu	
Kiranūr	
Uppilikuḍi	
Siruppālūr	
Kumāramangalam (two townships) (Iranḍu-ūrāi-isandaurōm)	Nāṭṭu-arayar
Kaikkuḍi	
Ānaiyūr	
Sirukaḷattūr	
Irayangudi (two townships)	
Ilanjayūr	Nānjil-Muttarayan

The Ūrārs of the two nāḍus and the Arayars gave the deed as *Iṛayili* but the lands were sold by occupant-holders as Tirnāmattukkāṇi or occupied holdings to the temple. They became tax-free by this deed which was the result of the collective action of the two Nāṭṭārs. The proceeds from the land dues were to be utilised for the food-offerings of the Goddess and for funding for repairs.

The obligations for paying Kaḍamai, Kuḍimai, Antarāyam, Eccōru, arisi and others shall be borne by the two nāḍus. If the villages or the Nāḍu again got split or bifurcated, the townships so split as the Ūrārs shall continue to respect these obligations under taken by the predecessor-Ūrārs.[32]

Even in villages described as Dēvadāna, the township Ūrār or the Nagarattār or the Sabhayār and/or the Nāṭṭār were always associated in the disposal of land. This would bear out their joint or collective interest and responsibility for the land and the dues thereon vis-a-vis the King, the more so in the case of unoccupied or village-common lands. The association of the townships in the transactions pertaining to Dēvadāna lands was more than formal and was an expression of their inherent responsibility and oversight over the lands, especially those unoccupied within the township and their management, and collection of land dues to the king or the assignees.

Karpura vilai : Another form of relief

There was a second method by which the land dues to the King or his Chieftains could be got relieved even if they were not absolutely remitted or foregone by royal command. This was through payment of Kaṛpūra vilai and as a result a portion of the land dues to the king could be diverted to the temple. A number of inscriptions throw light on this term and procedure. Invariably a payment was made to the Chieftain direct, and rarely through the Urār. This payment was in lieu of the land dues payable to the King, and as a *quid pro-quo* for the assignment of the land dues at the stipulated rates to the temple. The land holders' rights in the land (Kārāṇmai) were retained by the occupants in tact.

The ample evidence available on this subject occur in a bunch of records from Neivāsal and the last one from Kaṇṇanūr. They are summarised below :-

(1) 5th Year: Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I-Cōnāḍu Koṇḍaruḷiya-(A.D.: 1221)

AKāḷayārkālapperunderu merchant, Veṇṇainallūruḍaiyān Kūṛṛan Tillaināyagan had purchased from Vaṇḍankuḍi-Kaṛṛar alias Kūttattār of Tiruttiyūr, lands in Vaṇḍankuḍi and surroundings with the Kārāṇkiḷamai rights. Kaṇḍan Āḷuḍaiyān *alias* Kalvāyil Nāḍāḷvān

(the chieftain) having taken from the vendee Kūṛṛan Tillai-nayagan the *Kaṛpūra-vilai*, agreed that the vendee shall pay/measure to the temple of Tiruvagattīsvara-muḍaiyār at Nelvāyil at the following rates:

per mā	Kaḍamai	Antarāyam
For Pasānam and for sugar-cane	2 kalam paddy	$\frac{1}{4}$ Tiramam
For Āḍi Kuṛuvai, Aṛpasi Kuṛuvai	1 kalam paddy	$\frac{1}{8}$ Tiramam
Gingely, Tiṇai, Varagu	Tuṇi, Padakku, paddy	$\frac{1}{16}$ Tiramam

These were in lieu, or in settlement of the following dues: Iṛai, Kuḍimai, Antarāyam, cesses payable to the Nāḍu, Vāra-marakkalam (rent payable in kind and the fee for measuring the grain?), Kaṇak-kapperu (cess payable to accountants) and all other petty cesses (Sillāyam and kadamai).[83] The paddy dues shall be measured by Kaḍamai-Kāl of Kalvāyil-nāḍu and the Tiramam was to be of 5 *māni*.

(2) In the next year of the same ruler's reign, Nelvāyil Pūvan Kēraḷan and others had purchased from many persons several parcels of lands namely, Nelvāyil Vayal, Nambiyān Vayakkal, Vaḷavayal Vaḍakkal-ugavai, Nilangatiran Vayakkal, Naḍuvil Tuḍaval, Southern portion of Pirandān-vayakkal in Nakkaneri fields, $\frac{1}{3}$ share of the well in Viṇṇagan Vayakkal-in all 1 mā by Kuḍitāngi measuring rod.

Having obtained Kaṛpūra-vilai, Kaṇḍannāvuḍaiyān *alias* Kalvāy Nāḍāvan confirmed these lands as the Kāṇi of the vendee, and directed that the land dues inclusive of Kaḍamai and antarāyam shall be measured at 2 kalams for the main crop for yielding lands, (into which the harvesters entered "Puḷḷipukka"). Out of these dues, a lamp shall be maintained in the temple.[84]

A third instance was in the same year, Veṇṇainallūr Kūṛṛan Ambalanāḍan had purchased some lands in the Sirāttakkuḍi ayacut. These were the private holdings of four holders of Nelvāyil. The Chieftain Kaṇḍan Āḷuḍaiyān Kalvāyil Nāḍāḻvān had caused these lands to be sold to the vendee. He registered the purchased land as the holding of the vendee, and directed, in lieu of Iṛai, Kuḍimai, Antarāyam, veṭṭimuṭṭāvāḷ, and other obligations, the kaḍamai (in grain) and antarāyam (in Dramam) to be paid to the temple at Nelvāyil. On these terms the lands were registered as the vendee's holding.[85]

A fourth instance was in the 7th year of the same reign. A merchant of Kāḷaikalapperunderu, Nallūruḍaiyān Periyāḻvan had

purchased from the Pullamangalam-East (Kilvagai-Pullamangalam) as Kārāṇkilamai, occupied lands in Ālavayalkuḍikkāḍu including Kāṇippaṇṇai tanks and ayacuts.

Kaṇḍan A uḍaiyān alias Kalvāyil Nāḍālvān, having received from the vendee *Karpura vilai* directed that in lieu of the obligations of Iṛai, Kuḍimai, Antarāyam, Nāḍenṛa-vari, Vāra-marakkalam, Kaṇakkappēṛu, palavari and sillāyam and others, the land dues shall be collected and paid to the temple at the usual rates (already set out in the first case above). On these terms the holding purchased from Pullamangalattār was registered as "Kāṛāṇ Kilamai" of the vendee.[36] This was on 23rd day in the month of Āḍi (July-August.

This was followed nine months later, in the month of Citra (April-May) by an endorsement by the Ūrār of Pullamangalam. They gave a deed to that vendee-Periyālvān Ādinādan, recalling his purchase of Kaliyappaṇṇai and Ponnangai-nallūr ayacuts within, Ālaiyarkuḍikkāḍu and also the grant of the land dues to the Temple by their Lord (Engaḷ Nāyanār Uḍaiyār) and Chieftain Kalvāyil Nāḍālvār, and they as the Urar in accordance with the terms of the two deeds, deducted these obligations from the Tax Register and demand for the Nāḍu in favour of the Temple.[37] (Ivvayal nōkki vandanavellām mun sollapaṭṭa pēccinpaḍi nāṇgaḷum Ūrāi Nāṭṭu variyilum Irangaṭṭu Innāyanār Kōilukkē Kalveṭṭi kuḍuttōm).

There was a similar transaction of '*Vilai-Kalanda Kārān Kīlamai*' in the 8th year, that is mixed rights of Kārān-Kilamai and Kaḍamai dues purchased by payment of karpūra-vilai. A Siva-Brāhmaṇa of Tirukkōlakkuḍi of Agastya Gōtra, Nambi Piḷḷai, had a land granted as Dharmadāna in Nelvāyil. The Chieftain Kalvāyil Nāḍālvān declared it was *Vilai-kalanda Kārāṇkilamai* and directed that payment at the stipulated rates to Nelvāyil temple in lieu of the Iṛai, Kuḍimai, Antarāyam, Nāḍenṛa-vari, Vāramarakkalam, Kaṇakkappēṛu, Palavari and silvari etc. From the dues so diverted to the temple, a food-offering on his native asterisk, Mṛgasīrśa, was to be made.[38]

A sixth instance was in the 12th year of Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1228). A Siva-Brāhmaṇa (temple priest) serving in the Palangarai temple in Pālayūr-nāḍu of Bhāradvāja Gōtra Tiruvambalamuḍaiyār had purchased a part of the occupied holding (belonging to the Chieftain himself?) in Nelvāyil called Mēlaivaravai. The

Bhatta had also purchased another parcel on the eastern part of Vaḍavāyil-Vayakkal, from one Vāli-Malayan. He had earlier acquired the land and paid *Ka pura vilai* (for diverting the revenue) for a parcel Naḍuvilvaravay, so that he could consolidate the two specified parcels, and the plot he had acquired earlier (Okkakūṭṭi-kolvānāha).

The chieftain, Kaṇḍan-udaiyan seydān *alias* Kāngeyan of Niyamam (in Tēnār belt) having received in cash the '*Karpūra vilai*', registered the holdings as 'Kārāṇkiḻamai' to the vendee, and directed the delivery of kaḍamai at the usual rates to be paid to the temple at Nevāyil, foregoing the prescribed levies which were payable to the Chieftain (Ivanpakkal Nāmum Karpūravilai poruḷum koṇḍu Ivvaikku Kārāṇ-kiḻamaiyāga Kāṇi seydu kuḍuttu Namakku Irukkakaḍava kaḍamai......marrum Epperpaṭṭanavum tavirndu.[39]

A Seventh instance was in the 15th year of the same Pāṇḍyan ruler (AD 1231). A mendicant of the Nelvāyil temple establishment Tavasi Kaṇḍan Āṇḍapiḷḷai, and Piḷḷān Tiruccirāpaḷḷi had purchased a parcel called Uyyavandānvayakkal in Nelvāyil ayacut. On the chieftain receiving karpūra-vilai, the land was freed of all obligations except to pay to the temple for the cultivated lands coming up for harvest (Puḷḷipukka) at rates below :

Pisānam - 1 ma = 2½ kalams of paddy; ¼ Dramam.

For Summer crops = 1 kalam, padakku paddy; 1/16 dramam.

This paddy was to be used for a service of cooked rice on the birthday of the chieftain who ordered this, viz: Kaṇḍan Udaiyan Seydan alias Kāngēyan of Niyamam.[40]

In the same year, another Tavasi, Pūvan Kēraḷan and others of the same temple - establishment had purchased three parcels, measuring in all three taḍis. The same chieftain declared the sale price shall be the price paid by the vendees. (Ivan Koṇḍa vilayē vilayāvidāha). On receipt of karpūra-vilai from him the chieftain directed that in lieu of all remittances due (to him) (Iruppukkum), the vendee shall pay to the temple at rates specified below:-

Main crop per mā.	2 kalams 1 tūṇi 1 padakku paddy and ¼ dramam
Sugar-cane per mā.	3 kalams.........and dramam (lost)
Summer crop per mā.	1 kalam, padakku and 1/16 dramam

This levy was to be paid to the Tiruvagathīsvaramuḍaiya Nāyanār for a special service of food-offerings at 2 nāḻi on his native asterisk every month.[41]

In the 19th year, a Tapasi Kūṛṛan Nelvāyil and others had purchased from Tīvarapanjara-vallavadaraiyan a field Namban vayakkal and tank in the estate (Kāṇipaṛṛu)[42] of Kāngēyan of Niyamam. The chieftain received the kaṛpūra-vilai from the vendees, and waived the land dues, and in lieu there of directed the vendees to pay to the temple at Nelvāyil at the rates below;

For main crop:	Paddy 2 kalams; $\frac{3}{4}$ dramam
For summer crop:	Tūṇi, Padakku paddy; $\frac{1}{16}$ dramam

On these terms the land was made the holding (kāṇi) of Kūrran Nelvāyil and others.[43]

In the same year, Pūvan Kēraḷan, one of the Tapasis (mendicants) of Nelvāyil temple had purchased 4 taḍis of lands lying within the estate held as 'Jīvitam' by Kāngēyan, the same chieftain. The details of the lands were as follows :-

	Vendor	*Field*
(1)	Kūttan Cokkan	Kurukkattisey-northern bit, with well and trees.
(2)	Unjaimīkāmappērarayan	Southern bit of the same field-2 tadis.
(3)	Virudarāyan	Vallavan Vayakkal-southern bit.

The price paid by the the vendee was declared to be the price for the parcels. On receipt of the kaṛpūra-vilai, the chieftain fixed the following rates as payable to the temple for maintaining a lamp service:[44]

Main crop	per mā	2 kalams tūṇi; padakku paddy. $\frac{1}{4}$ dramam
Sugarcane	,,	3 kalams......
Summer crop	,,	1 tuni, padakku, $\frac{1}{16}$ dramam

Two more instances were in the 2nd year of Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara. In both several parcels of lands were purchased by the vendees. Kāngēyan the chieftain, having received kaṛpūra-vilai

directed that all land-dues shall be remitted or foregone (Tavirndu) and in lieu thereof the vendee shall deliver to the temple authorities at the rates specified below:—

Main crop and Sugar cane	2 kalams; $\frac{1}{4}$ dramam
Ādi, Aṛpasi kuṛuvai	1 kalam; $\frac{1}{8}$ dramam
Gingeley, Tinai and Varagu	Tūṇi, Padakku, Paddy; $\frac{1}{16}$ dramam

The rates were fixed for all lands coming to yield.[45]

In all the instances above, the Karpura-viḷai was received direct by the chieftain. The last instance from Kaṇṇanūr provided a variant. Gōmaṭham Sankaranārayāṇa Bhaṭṭar had purchased a land Porkiḻavan-vayakkal. In the 12th year of Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya, he paid to the Ūrār of Kaṇṇanūr as Karpūra-vilai 100 paṇam. The Ūrār receipted the amount and undertook to pay the land dues for all times. They also undertook to protect the land from being subjected to any other levy. (Maṛṛonṛum vārāmal Pārisarippōmāhavum).[46]

From the evidence set out above, it can be concluded that *Karpūra-vilai* was a favourable or part commuted purchase-price analogous to later examples of *Jōdi* in Vijayanagar times, or 'poruppu' paid to a zamindar by an Ināmdār for lands comprised in the estate or commuted 'quit-rent' payāble on *inams* in consideration for the reversionary right or escheat being waived by the British Government and exemption from full assessment granted in Inam Settlement.

The implications that follow from this interpretation are set out below:—

(1) The Kāṛpura-vilai was paid in lieu of and to relieve the obligation to pay the land dues and other specified levies payable to the chieftain or the Nādu on occupied lands and even on occupiable lands when so occupied for cultivation. It was a purchase price for the land dues obligation to be waived by the chieftain and was the very reverse of remission or grant by the King or the chieftain.

(2) It was paid by the vendees of private holdings when they desired to retain the Kārān-kiḻamai or Kārāṇmai (land holder's) rights for themselves as their Kāni or occupancy holding but desired to endow the land dues portion alone, in whole or part to the temple.

(3) The lands were thus relieved of the obligations to pay the

land dues to the king or his chieftains to which they were subject prior to the payment of kārpūra-vilai.

(4) In cases where karpūra-vilai was not paid in the first instance, the donors or the temples in enjoyment had to pay it to the King or the chieftain so that they could appropriate the proceeds from the land dues themselves.

(5) Alternatively, the grant could only be made out of the Kārāṇ-kiḻamai interests held by the vendees.

(6) It was distinguished by being a favourable charge, securing the benefit for a religious or charitable institution whereas *Irai-kāval* (*Tax-vigil*) was a deposit, the proceeds of which had to meet all the land dues demand in full.

(7) The land dues diverted to the temple were at the rates specified, on the chieftain waiving the obligation of payment to him. It thus seemed to have represented a moiety of the land dues payable. This could either be that the full quantum of land dues was divided between the King by payment of karpūra-vilai and the temple by assignment of the favourable rates. Or alternatively, the quantum assigned could represent what could be hitherto payable to and appropriated by the chieftain. It would be noticed in almost all the cases the chieftain ratifies the purchase and recognises the Kārāṇmai rights and stipuiates the rates of dues payable to the temple.

(8) There was an explicit statement in some cases that the price paid by the vendee to their predecessors in title (vendors) shall be the price, presumably for the rights of Kārāṇ-Kiḻamai rights conveyed to him. It implied a separate price had to be paid for the waiver of the land dues to the chieftain and for assigning that moiety to the temple.

(9) The assignment could also be made use of for endowing a service for the merit of the chieftain, who could make a virtue out of his gains.

This interpretation is based on a critical examination of the evidence-set out. It conclusively established the error of the initial meaning given to this term by the pioneer-epigraphist-savant, Sri Venkayya, that "it was a royalty on camphor" or "a levy for camphor used in the Paḷḷi" in interpreting the Pancapāṇḍavamalai inscription.[47] It further elucidates the suggestion made by Prof. Sastri[48] and his inference that Karpūra-vilai was a cess levied on

lands despite their description that they were 'Iraiyili Pallicc̄andam.'[49] It is nearer the meaning given by Sri T.N. Subramaniam "A Commuted sum paid inclusive of taxes on the temple land so that they could be cultivated and enjoyed by the temple."[50] But this last interpretation, too, needs revision as seen above. For the cultivation rights were retained by the vendees, and did not belong to the temple.

Applying these inferences, the lands endowed for the Jaina Palli in Tiruppāṇmalai could have been some private holdings acquired, on which the land dues were still payable and the obligations to pay kaṛpūra-vilai in lieu of such land dues to the Lāṭa Chieftain had befallen on the Palli to pay. To that extent the proceeds for the religious and charitable object from the endowment had become less and it was hindered (Iddharmam keṭṭuppōgiradenru). This was submitted to the visiting Lāṭa Chief (Rāja) Vīra Cōlar while worshipping the deity, when his wife interceded, and submitted to her husband to forego finally the kaṛpūra-vilai (Olindaruḷavēṇḍumenṛu) and the Lāṭa Chieftain readily responded by ordering the absolute remission.[51]

There was another possibility. Unoccupied waste lands in the Dēvadāna villages could be subsequently brought under reclamation and cultivation and thus become subject to the obligation to pay land dues. If the land dues thereon were to be diverted to the the temple, kaṛpūra-vilai could be claimed by the royal authorities. The arrangement would leave in tact the Kārāṇmai rights with the holder who undertook the reclamation and occupation. A transaction from Tiruneḍungaḷam (Tiruccirāpaḷḷi District) of the 8 th year of Rajakēsarivarman (Rājarāja I-A.D. 993) was noteworthy. Tirununḍegaḷam was a Dēvadāna village in Kavira-nāḍu of which some villages of Pudukkottai tract had also formed part (e.g. Tirugōkarṇam). The Sabhayār, the Ūrār and the temple authōrities of Tiruneḍungaḷam sold to one Kamban Maṇiyan, the headman of Sūrā'ūr (Kiḻavan) as Kuḍinikkā-Dēvadāna lands called Killivayal. This was full of scrub jungle which had to be cleared and the land levelled and reclaimed. On behalf of the deity a sum of 30 kāsu was paid to the Sreekārya (Executive officers) of Rājarāja-Brahmamāraya (the royal officer) from the temple treasury as Kāṛpūra-vilai for this land. It was caused to be sold for the same amount, *i.e* : 30 kāsu to

the headman of Sūrālūr. From the following year, the vendee had to measure to the deity, per year- the land demand of 150 kalams of paddy by the township measure, Kōdukulavan. In other words, the vendee paid the 30 kāsu remitted by the temple treasury to the royal officers as Karpūra-vilai so that the land might be relieved of its obligations to pay the dues on occupied holdings and the dues may be diverted to the temple. The land being unoccupied and as it needed reclamation, the Karpūra-vilai itself was deemed to be the purchase price. (Iddēvarkku Ikkāṭṭukku Karpūravilaikku Rājarāja Brahmamā-rāyan Srī-Kāryattu Iddēvar Bhaṇḍārattu Vaitta Kāsu 30. Ikkāsu Muppadukkum Viṟṟukoḍutta Edirāmāṇḍu mudal Iddēvarkē Kāṇikaḍan Āṇḍuvarai aḷappadāṇa nel 150 kalam".[52]

A second instance was from Kalliḍaikuricci. In the 11th year of Māravarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya a land was sold by the Sabhayār of Rājarāja-caturvēdimangalam to Nilaiyuḍaiya Pāṇḍya Īsvaramuḍayār Nāgēsvaramuḍayār. For the land sold the temple had to pay 13 accu for the conveyance of Kārāṇmai rights to the Sabhā. But it had to pay for Karpūravilai 13 accu to the royal officers and apparently the Sabhayār made over the 13 accu they had received to the royal officers in settlement of Karpūra-vilai.[53]

In the succeeding reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara the king remitted the Antarāya-included levies and declared the land as Dēvadāna-Iṟayili at the instance of Kāḷingarāyan, the chieftain [54]

From these instances the following inferences can be drawn :-

(1) Even in Dēvadāna villages karpūravilai was collectable in lieu of land dues when a land became an occupied holding. In other words, the Dēvadāna tenure did not *ipso facto* carry with it the assignment of land revenue/dues to the temple, on lands then unoccupied.

(2) When forest lands or unreclaimed waste lands therein were turned into arable and occupied holdings, land demand was fastened on them.

(3) If such demand on holdings was to be diverted to and made enjoyable by the temple, the royal officers had to be paid Karpūravilai.

(4) The Karpūravilai could be a lumpsum payment, as in Tirunedungaḷam case, 30 kāsu.

(5) It was open to the person inducted by sale to reclaim the land, to pay up the Kaṛpūravilai to the temple to be deemed as the sale price. Alternatively, the vendors (the Sabhayārs in the Kalliḍai-kuricci case) could forego their sale price, and pay it over as Kāṛpūravilai.

(6) Where the Kaṛpūravilai was not paid, the beneficiary had to continue to bear the obligations from its own resources.

(7) In the Tiruneḍungaḷam case the Kaṛpūravilai-equivalent itself was the sale price, presumably in consideration of the reclamation the vendee had to undertake at his cost, and the recurring annual benefit of Kāṇikkaḍan that the temple could derive.

(8) With the payment of sale price of 30 kāsu and with only the obligation to pay the Kānikkaḍan to the temple, the vendee was free to enjoy the rest of the produce from the reclaimed land, representing the Kārāṇmai interest.

(9) In the Kalliḍaikkuricci case, the Sabhayār had conveyed the Kārāṇmai interest to the temple, and the primary land-deemed 'Kāṇikkaḍan' or 'Kaḍamai' or had been purchased through paying Kaṛpūravilai. Supplementary obligations to pay Antarāyam included, had still continued, and it was not till the 13th year of the next reign that the land had become fully tax-free.

In sum, payment of Kaṛpūravilai was the very reverse of the full and free grant of land dues by the king or the chieftain on his own. Parcels of lands were occupied-holdings on which the Kārāṇ-Kiḻamai (the landlordship or the holder's) rights had been acquired and retained with the vendees. It was open to the vendee to endow any part or whole of the yield from his Kārāṇ-Kiḻamai rights alone. The obligation to pay land dues whether to the king or to his chieftain, to the Nādu and the Ūrār subsisted. For them to cease and to be diverted to the temple, it was open to the vendee, be it the temple or a benefactor, to pay a commuted price usually favourable, to the chieftain so that the land dues could be diverted to the temple for enjoyment at the stipulated rates which seemed to be less than the full quantum of land dues. In the process the chieftain could also name a service for his own merit to be conducted utilising the diverted land dues. The Tiruneḍungaḷam record brought out that Kaṛpūravilai was payable even on an unoccuppied jungle land though it had formed

part of a Dēvādāna village, when reclaimed and occupied if the dues from the holding were to be diverted to the temple for its benefit. The "Iṛaiyili Paḷḷiccandam of Tiruppāṇmalai could belong, alternatively, to this category of lands.

In rare cases, the Ūrār received a deposit for Kaṛpūravilai and from the proceeds they undertook to pay all the obligations. In that case it was different from Iṛaikāval only in degree. For the latter represented the full capitalised value the proceeds of which should be equal to the payment of all land dues and obligations to all the agencies in full. If the evidence from Kalliḍaikkuricci twin documents is to be pressed into service, Kaṛpūravilai seemed to have represented onty a part settlement and not a full settlement of the entire range of land-obligations.

The bunch of records also brought out that in Nelvāyil in the reign of Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya and his immediate successors the rates of land dues diverted to the temple were more or less uniform with but minor variations.[55]

It follows that the temple lands too were liable to pay certain levies unless specifically remitted. The nature and quantum of those levies would depend upon the tenure of the land and the donor's subsisting rights and obligations devolving on the grantees, and the content of the grant. Already an instance from Tiruveṭpūr, where the Nāttār remitted their dues from lands on which the king had remitted his land dues was noticed.

Levies or Cesses payable by temples illustrated :

These cesses or levies payable to the king by the temple were seen to have survived in later Pāṇḍya times and even in Vijayanagar rule. Some instances are noticed below.

In the 10 th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya a (Hōysala) Mahāpradhāni, Aniyakiṭṭayya Daṇḍanāyaka made a grant to the Siva Tempie at Perumā-nāḍu. That temple had been paying as Sīṛṛāyam 2 accu, and the General made over this amount to defray the expenses for renovation or construction (Tiruppaṇikkuḍalāha) for the goddess' shrine.

Secondly, there were some shepherds (1½ kuḍis) Māḍan Perumāḷ, Tāmani Nakkan and Ponnamanavan, who were also paying a

Kaḍamai (unspecified.) In lieu thereof one nāḻi of ghee was to be measured for 40 lamps per day in addition to the milk, curds and ghee they were delivering to the temple.[56]

The temple of Kunnāṇḍar-Koil had been paying 100 pon. By a Kōnerinmaikoṇḍān Grant, from the 14th year of Sundara-Pāṇḍya, this amout was remitted to defray the expenses of a special Sandhi instituted in the ruler's name.[57] This was ordered to be deducted in the revenue account (vari) and endorsed to the temple authorities and also the Nāṭṭār of Kunnāṇḍār-koil parrū.[58]

In S. 1343 (A.D. 1421), Tirumēniaḻagiyar Vijayālaya Thēvar of Sūraikkuḍi instituted a Sandhi in his name in Pēraiyūr temple. He ordered the "Paccai paṇam" hitherto paid by the temple in cash of 150 Vāḷāl Vaḻītirandāṉ Paṇam to be remitted, and endowed it as a Sarvamānya for the purpose[59].

A similar grant of the Jōḍi Sūlavari (paid by lands held by the (Siva Temple) of 20 pon per year was made for instituting a new service in Tiruvaranguḷam Temple in Saka 1439 (A.D. 1517)[60]

Unoccupied lands

So far, the obligations cast on occupied holdings have been examined, including those which devolved on grantees or donees enjoying such lands. We may now examine the unoccupied lands which were held in common and how they were turned to beneficial enjoyment. The lands held in common were termed Ūr-podu or Sabhai-Podu. They were either long waste (anādi-tarisu) or lands reverted to the township. They included unoccupied house-sites in the residential areas of the township. The townships had been assiduously converting such common lands into occupied holdings or housessites or otherwise utilising them for communal purposes or as temple endowments or for services to the township and/or the temple.

Particular services like the artisans or washermen were also fastened on holdings earmarked from 'Ur-podu'. The fields have tell-tale names, like Vaṇṇān-sey (washerman) Taṭṭān-sey (goldsmith) Ācāryan-vayal (stone masons), Nāvitan sey (barbers),[61] and others. These fields were sometimes prefixed with the term 'Ur-podu', denoting that they were lands held by the township in common, and enjoyable for the appointed service so long as the holders continued to

do the service. In short, the holdings were conditioned by such obligations to render service, and were "estates upon condition".

Each temple had its own establishment-the priests, attendants, cleaners, pipers, musicians, potters, stone-masons, washermen, and for festival services, and for those who recited the Tamil hymns like Tiruppadiyam or Tiruvāymoḻi and dancers. Tiruviḷāngudi was a township rehabilitated in the 28th year of Rājarāja (A.D.1130.) The Perunguṛi Sabhā, consisting of the Brahmin resident-holders assiduously provided for these services. Details of the scale of land provided and the number of persons appointed for each service were also carefully recorded.[62] These are set out in Appendix I to this study. This aspect can itself bear a separate treatment and a comparative study can be made of the scale of lands provided in differect tracts to bring out the relative unit-values of land-holdings. Suffice it in the context of the present study to note that these endowments were made out of the township common lands. Opportunity was availed to renovate ruined tanks and reclaim lands while making such endowments. The service holders were also provided sometimes with cash emoluments in addition, and clothes were presented on occasions. A land endowed for nine Sāndhi-kūttu performances during festivals was drought-prone and yield was uncertain. Alternative means of remunerating the services were also provided for by collective contribution (Koṟṟu)[63] for the actual number of performances. In some cases the performance of service was obligatory, whether the service-tenure lands yielded or not. (P.I. 139)

Private benefaction was forthcoming to buy land and to provide for such services. In Tiruviḻāngudi itself a Brahmin, Vāsudēvan Sridharan of Kōṭṭūr in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu deposited 4 kāsu and caused the lands to be made tax-free; the land was for a garden, and its sale value itself was 2 kāsu.[64]

Similar provision was made in Cittūr in the 22nd year of Rājarāja. (A.D. 1007).[65]

The services such as officiation as the temple priests were also saleable, and could be given as Sridhanam or gift to a bridegroom who marries the daughter of the grantor-priest. One such instance in the 19th year of Rājarāja was recorded at Poonamarāvati. Perumal, a priest had obtained 2 days' turn in the 30 days' rotation as a result of

Srīdhana he had obtained (by marrying another priest's daughter); the donor, perhaps, had no male succession.[66]

Special provision was also made by the Ūrār for the prosperity of the township. The Pālayūr Ūrār instituted 2 lamps per day for their benefit (Palayūrukkunanṛākaccella) from their own common holdings [67]

In Muniyandai in the 3rd year of Pāṇḍya Sundara I (?) the Township had been threatened with a danger; as a propitiation and for their prosperity, two goddesses were installed in the Visṇu shrine. The Ūrār gave 2 mā of land for the dress and other expenses for the newly installed goddesses. Kāngeyan the chieftain gave a letter authorising the remission of the dues to the King on these 2 mā of land, including Kaḍamai, Antarāyam, Kaṛpūravilai, Kārya-vāraītci, etc.[68]

Unoccupied house-sites

Unoccupied house-sites were also held in common. They could be assigned by the township as and when occupants needed them, and a house-site tax (manai-vari) was collectable unless specifically waived.

In the 35th year of Parāntaka I (A.D. 942), the Ūrār of Kāṛkuri-cci in Vallanāḍu endowed a wet land in Teṛṛālūr and ¼ land in the *natham* (residential area) of Teṛṛālūr for conducting festivals (Tiruvilāppuram).[69]

The Urar also sold occupiable holdings in public auction such common lands so that interested benefactors might bid for the lands and acquire them for making endowments.[70] A village-common ayacut Mūvaneri Tank and the lands fed by it in Punnanguḍi were sold by the Ūrār to a merchant from Vāraṇavasi-Perunderu in Puṛamalai-nāḍu in auction.[71] Among its boundaries, to its east lay a village common "Vaṇṇān-sey", a land held for washerman service, and by its side was a boulder used by the washermen (vaṇṇān-kal). The lands in the southern hamlet of Tirumeyyam, Pāppāravayal were allowed to become the village-common as the previous enjoyer Kaṛumāṇikka-Pallavadarayar could not pay the land-dues, and other lands were similarly allowed to become village-common by the erstwhile enjoyers. some temple priests of the Siva temple. The township

Sabhayār made them service tenure lands again for piper service in the Siva temple, taking on the obligation to pay land dues on themselves.[72]

In one instance, the Ūrār exchanged a portion of the Ūr-podu and other lands (Parivartanai) to acquire private-occupited house-sites or holdings. In Nīrpalani in Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya's reign such a need arose in order to form the principal street in front of the temple (Sannadhi Street). The Ūrār and the temple authorities acquired private house-sites of 16 kuḻi (by 16 feet rod) from Moṇṇai Varayādān and Moṇṇai Gaṇavati of the village worth some 4,800 kāsu. They sold a garden of 45 kuḻi in exchange, and also paid in cash 150 kāsu. This would suggest the high value of house-sites as compared with garden lands. Among the boundaries to the north-east a village common land set apart for the barbers also occurred[73]

When house-sites were sold a tax was imposed on the house-sites payable by the occupants. The rate was 3/8 paḻankāsu in Pēraiyūr in Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya's time. The house-site unit measured 3 kol x 7 kol by the pole that the shephards (Iḍaiyar) use or 18 feet poles (?). When a merchant-street, Kulasēkhara-perunderu was formed and occupied by the Nagarattār and when the occupants were inducted, it was provided that they were liable to pay a fine to the temple for misconduct or crime committed within the natham. Should any act against the township they were liable to be evicted from the colony, nor should they act in any way to incur the displeasure of the temple authorities. If any did, the Nagaram the township, as a body, would be answerable to the temple,[74] The Ūrār of Sevalūr allocated 28 manai or house-sites for the Nagarattār of Iḻayāttākuḍi in A.D. 1500 while selling lands for maintaing a deity installed by the Nagarattār. They also reserved 3 sites therein for the enjoyment of one Cēdiyarāyan besides excluding 2 sites already allotted to one Cēdiyarāyan Āvuḍayār[75]

In Kaṇṇanūr in Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya's reign the house-site tax was 2 paṇam per year for the natham granted as Dēvadāna-Tiruviḍayāṭṭam.[76]

Sometimes the sale of the village common was done under duress. In the 5th year of Māṛavarman Kulasēkhara the Ūrār of Oliyamangalam were pressed to render some obligation (Vēṇḍukōḷ) and tender

other levies demanded from the village. The Ūrār had no meāns to pay up. (Idaṛku oru pōkkilāmayāl). They sold one of their village common, arable plots as Kuḍinīngāddēvadānam in public auction.[77]

The King, also, could direct that the lands held as village common be converted into Dēvadāna tenure; or fund the proceeds therefrom for renovation and construction. A Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān order addressed to the 'Kāraṇavar' of Tirukkuḷambūr conveyed "in the occupiable lands of the village, an extent of 8 mā held as village common were being ploughed (cultivated) by Cōḻagangan and others, Adirēkavīran and others, Āḍuvāṇ Perumāḷ and others, From the Āḍi month of the 6th year these 8 mā were granted as Dēvadāna. They shall be demarcated by stones, and reduced from the Tax-registers (vari) and Land-register (Poravu). From the proceeds of these lands the temple shall be renovated[78]

Eight years later, (14th year of Māravarman Kulasēkhara) the Ūrār gave a further deed declaring the same Dēvadāna lands of 8 mā as "Iṛaiyili" and gave a deed of right (Piḍipāḍu) to the temple authorities. The Ūrār recalled the 8 mā of land were in the ayacut of Tirukkuḷambūr tank ayacut, as "village-common" and irrigated by the temple-channel. Paddy was being cultivated on a 'lump-rental' basis (Pāṭṭapparṛāy) and free of Iṛai (land-revenue) by the several cultivators named above. The 8 mā of land was included in the arable land register of the village (Ūr-puravu). They were granted for renovation (Tiruppaṇi sēsam) and on receipt of the royal order of the 6th year the lands were deducted from assessment and boundary stones were planted. From the 13th year, they were declared to be "Iṛaiyili-dēvadāna". The Ūrār undertook to pay the Kaḍamai, Antarāyam, Viniyōgam and all other dues.[79]

It could be inferred the lands held in village-common were auctioned annually, or for a number of years for the highest lumpsum rental that could be realised by the Ūrār and they made out of the rental the payment of the land-dues to the King. The King could grant the lands as Dēvadāna, and could allocate the proceeds for temple renovation. Where the land dues therefrom were not remitted, they were expressly undertaken by the Ūrār on their own account, and borne from the Township's resources and thereby the temple was freed from the obligation to pay land dues that would otherwise

subsist. In the instant case, it has taken six years to formalise this arrangement.

When such village common were taken up for cultivation, expediency and experience would only vouch for the surmise that the same cultivators would have been continuing on the land normally.

The Nagarattār of Sundaram (Dēsiyugandapaṭṭanam) sold to a lady, Umaiyāṇḍar, wife of Mudaliyāṇḍār as "Ūr-vilaippiramāṇam" an unoccupied (Paṟṟili) land among the wet lands irrigated by both the big and small sluices of the Periyavavayal ayacut.[80]

Dēvan Sūriyan of Parambaiyūr purchased a land from the Ūrār, I mā, mundirikai in extent and the vendors planted stones demarcating the boundaries to its south, west and north. It was a dry land which he lowered (kalli) and reclaimed it to be fit for growing irrigated crops and he stipulated the rates at which he would measure out a portion of the temple. For pasānam, 6 kalams per mā ; and fo) summer crops ½ thereof, and for Kiḻirai—— ½ Paḻamkāsu. For dry lands, ¼ Paḻankāsu and for varagu 3 mā, mukkāṇi Paḻankāsu, for Tinai 1/8 Paḻankāsu. In this case the land dues were presumably borne by the vendee.[81]

An Arayar of Kōṇaikurucci, Nallān alias Vīrasingarāyar purchased from the Ūrār of Sembāṭṭur (alias Sembiyan Puṟṟāmbur) 3 taḍis of land as Iṟaiyili. Apparently, the capitalised value had also been realised by the Ūrār together with the sale-price. The vendee endowed it as "Kuḍinīngā-dēvadāna and agreed to deliver 12 kalams of paddy for yielding lands.[82]

To sum up, the Ur-podu lands were either arable or pastural. The arable lands could be (a) an ancient waste or (b) land reverted to the Ūr as escheat or for default in payment of land dues, or (cr abandoned or relinquished lands. Such lands were generally auctioned for outright sale or, if leased, on the highest rental-bid (Pāṭṭam) that could be had. The Ūrār could also allocate such common lands on service-tenures to the servants of the temple, and the township to be enjoyed by the holder as "estates upon condition." The King could also assign such lands to the temple or for other public purposes, with or without remitting land-dues. House-sites were also held in common unless occupied and those occupied and built upon were liable to pay *manai-vari* or house-site tax. The

varied aspects of administering and utilising the Ūr-podu have been illustrated.

Long wastes in Devadana lands-how turned to utility.

Next could be noticed long wastes in villages and ayacuts held on Dēvadāna or Brahmadēya tenures. They were analogous to the 'Ūr-podu' in that the enjoyment and occupation had not been fastened on these lands. These could have resulted from floods, or due to abandonment on account of successive droughts or emigration. Several instances of long wastes have already been cited in the study on "*Irrigation*".

Tiruviḷāngudi, a Brahmadēya village, Vikramakēsari-caturvēdi-mangalam in Urattūr Kūrram was a particularly ill-fared township. In the 28th year of Rājarāja (AD 1013), the Township was oppressed with a sense of calamity that the Uvaccar pipers had left the village and for over an year the temple worship (Srībali) rituals were discontinued, and festivals could not be conducted; they searched, and sent for the pipers and finally two responded, who were provided for with great solicitude[83]

Again, in the same year they lamented that ever since the Brahmadēya was formed till date there were some ayacuts under scrub jungle, and tanks had become breached. These lands were sold and various services in the temple were provided for. The temple servants complained about the ruined conditions of the tank and the *Sabhayar* assembled on the tank-bund and directed, item by item, the several works to be undertaken for its repairs.[84]

There were likewise Dēvadāna lands which, since the time of the grant had not known crops grown thereon and these lands were reclaimed. This reclamation activity and beneficial enjoyment of lands has been undertaken, noticeably, in the reigns of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I.[85]

The Mayilāppūr Ūrār in Perumānādu similarly sold a Dēvadāna ayacut which was long waste for reclamation and repairs to the tank.[86]

In Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya's 15th year, the Ūrār of Kōvānūr were distressed that for long till date there were none to be named as occupant piper service-holders (Kāni-āḻar) for the township and

the temple. There were relieved when one Kuḻanjān Pirakaṇḍamārāyan and his younger brothers Sōṛan and Bhūman alias Muḻudumvallamārāyan turned up and gave them as Uvaccukkāṇi Pagaiccava-Kāla-parayan tank and ayacut.[87] It was as much discomforting for the service-holders if they were not attached to a village or township, as it was for the latter that they had not some one whom they could call exclusively "their own". Nothing illustrated the tenacious attachment to the land and the township as this sense of mutual belonging and community bonds that struck roots.

The tract, as already noticed, needed repeated efforts to renovate and recondition the tanks and to reclaim lands which had reverted to the state of a scrub jungle. Several and repeated attempts had been made in this regard to better utilise the Dēvadāna lands endowed for Kuḍumiyāmalai temple.

One feature noticed in reclamation of lands was that it allowed for progressive increase in the rates of dues payable to the temple. The rates were graduated year by year, 1/3, 2/3, and usually reaching the full rate in the 3rd year or after. This allowed time for the full reclamation of lands and for fertility to be added in lands inherently lacking it, and also for cultivation to get stabilised.

Reclamation and rates of lands-dues at graduated rates.

The Tāvaḍiviḻāgam ayacut in Tiruvētpūr belonged to the Viśṇu temple as Dēvadāna Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam. The lands were taken up for reclamation and enjoyment as Kuḍinīngā Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam by one Vēḷān Aḻagan alias Sembian Vēḷān. The full rental to be delivered was 15 paṇam per mā for the best-sort land (Talaivarisai) on crops cultivated coming to yield. Apparently, the intention was to allow adjustments for inferior fertility in land on actuals.

In the first year	...	½ of this rent
„ „ second year	...	¾ „ „ „
„ „ third year and there after	...	Full rent was to be delivered.

For Superintendents and Accountants, a fee at 1 tūṇi of paddy per taḍi was to be measured and for another item (lost) 3/8 varisai[88]

The sale of Kāvidikkurucci, Iluppaikuḍi, Kōḍanēri and Marungūr and Mukkuḷam had already been cited in the Study on *Kudimiyamalai*.

The rates were varied from one ayacut to another, depending on fertility, and yielding capability of each, and the availability of wells for supplemental irrigation. Also, in Marungūr the rent was payable at 1/4 the rate in the first year, 1/2 in the second, and thereafter permanently at 4 Kalams per mā. The Kīḻ-iṛai payable in cash was also far less; in the case of Mukkuḷam (for the entire ayacut) 60 kalams and Kīḻ-iṛai 4 paṇam. If cultivation was not committed, proportionate rent for the lands cultivated from out of the extent in the oḻugu would have to be measured.[89]

In Perunjinai, Dēvadānam lands were leased or left to be enjoyed on usufructory mortgage so that the proceeds could be used for renovation of the temple. The lands were leased or mortgaged on share-cropping basis. For lands where cultivation was stabilised, 2/5 was the vāram (share-crop). But for those not so stabilished it was to be collected at 1/10, and progressively increased from year to year until in the year of stabilised cultivation, when the full rate of 2/5 was to be realised.[90] This kind of leases with graded scales of realisation of rent spread over a period, in modern times, are termed "cowle".

Sub-Tenures

The modes of disposal of unoccupied township and Dēvadāna lands for reclamation were varied. They were auctioned in public. The interested benefactors could buy them on "Kuḍinīngādēvadāna" tenure; by far this type constituted the largest volume of transactions.

There were, of course, a few cases where the lands were held on "Kuḍinīkkī-dēvadāna tenure". Iṛaiyili Kārāṇkiḻamai or Kuḍinīngā-Kārāṇkiḻamai are other forms of sub tenures noticed. Lands could be got cultivated under the direct supervision of the temple, getting the full yield (Muṟṟūṭṭu) therefrom for itself. These are dealt with below :

Kudinikki Devadana

When lands were granted as Dēvadāna. it was stipulated whether the existing tenancy was to continue or got existinguished. Several parcels of lands in Nīrpaḻani were endowed for temple services, and temple maintenance, by Mahīmālaya Irukkuvēḷār in 10th year of Cōḻa Rājakēsari-varman on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The lands were

excluded from the revenue-yielding lands account (Puravu), taxes remitted, and the occupancy thereon was extinguished and then made Dēvadāna in tenure.[91]

In actual practice, this could, perhaps, give freedom to the temple to stipulate its own terms to the erstwhile occupants or vary the subsisting ones, on acceptance of which the earlier holders could continue to hold the lands.

In making an endowment to the temple at Tiruvēngaivāsal an earlier Dēvadāna of 1 mā of land from which the earlier tenancies were extinguished was excluded, and the residual 7 mā was the subject of the grant.[92] These were exceptions.

The term 'Kuḍinīkka' correspondingly should refer to the lands in which the former holders continued to have their occupancy, and these rights were not extinguished, but the subsisting quantum of Kaḍamai could be transferred to the beneficiary.

Kudininga-Devadanam

The predominant type of transactions noticed in this tract was termed "Kūḍinīngā-dēvadaṇam". Here the lands were of Dēvadāna tenure or, common lands belonging to the townships sold and endowed for Dēvadāna or other services. These were often sold for reclamation and renovation of tanks.

The term "Kuḍīnīngā-Dēvadānam" raises some doubts on as to whom the 'Kuḍi' oould signify. For in many cases the vendors[93], the Ūrār or other townships and sometimes the vendees[94] who responded to the auction hoot imposed a condition "if this ayacut was sold for a specified services as Kuḍinıngā-Dēvadānam it shall be taken or I shall take it". This would signify that the vendee himself was meant, and that he had stipulated permanency of occupancy for himself as a condition for purchase. This was plausible for two reasons- (i) he would have otherwise no interest in buying the land at a price and further investing on it for reclamation and renovation of tanks. (ii) Most of these lands were at the time of auction overgrown with scrub jungle and uneven and long waste and the tanks had breached and were abandoned. Under such circumstances there might not have been any occupancy tenant holding claims thereon. The term 'Kuḍinīkki' or 'nīkkā' would refer to the accomplised fact of

extinguishing earlier occupancies and rights at the time of the grant. The term 'Kuḍinīnga' would denote irremovable or inextinguishable occupancy and would have application for the future. It would also suggest the occupancy rights were with the bidder-vendee. The vendee, could in his turn, induct subtenants and the security of tenure could also be reflected to and devolve on the subtenants.

For ayacuts or holdings within the township, the right of first refusal of tenancy or subtenancy had belonged to the residents. Hence the vendees were, normally, to engage them and not to oust or remove them. However, a few instances were noticed where the township had an inadequacy of tenants; in such cases the vendee was allowed to induct tenants from without the township. But such tenants from outside were to pay a levy which was stipulated at 2 paṇam in a Kaṇṇanūr inscription[95] and 1 paṇam in Olliaiyūr-mangalam and Mēlattāṇīyam.[96] There were also cases where for lack of population and as a special concession such levy on the tenants inducted from without (puṛakkuḍi) was waived as already noticed in *Tiruvarangulam.*

The explicit policy of the township was to provide preferential employment for the resident tenancy and surely such of them as have had prescriptive rights would have been safeguarded. New tenants though distinguished by the levy of 'Kuḍipaṇam' could have also acquired such prescriptive rights, despite the additional incidence cast on them, over the years.

In the 'Kuḍinīngā-Dēvadāna' the beneficiary the temple, was entitled to a share of the yield on a scale prescribed 'varisai'. The vendee usually undertook to measure at prescribed rates for 'Kaḍamai' paddy and antarāyam in cash to the temple on these Dēvadāna lands, The rates had varied from area to area and even field to field, depending on the productivity of each. Sometimes the rates were also in excess of the apparently prevailing rates, and this should have depended on the personal and individual inclination of the donees to contribute more to the temple, and keep less of the yield to themselves. For the very object of their buying these lands and to reclaim them and bring them under beneficial enjoyment was to endow them for religious merit. Therefore, no general conclusions on the prevailing rates of dues which were in the nature of rent could be drawn from the data,

though a pattern could be discerned.[97]

Among such vendees could be noticed the Siva Brāhmaṇas, chieftains who conquered the tract, the rich merchants, other benefactors and in one case the 'Madhyastan' of the Ūr himself acquired a holding along with a merchant from Tiruppūvaṇam.[98]

Varisai :

The rates were generally specified per mā for pasānam the main crop, and graded levies for other crops, namely, summer paddy, irrigated dry crops, dry crops grown, vegetables, etc, There was no uniformity in the rates due to the varied tenures of land, the nature of holding and enjoyment, content of the grant or the assignment of interest. Some peculiarities are noticed below.

In the case of dry lands in Oliyamangalam the rates were specified on the basis of the total number of ploughs out of which 2 plought were deducted for the two vendees and on the residual number, is was collected at 4 paṇams per plough, and for "Paruvari" per person 3 paṇam.[99]

In Kaṇṇanūr dry land rent was at 3/4 paṇam per ma. [100]

For gingeley, the rent was sometimes stipulated to be delivered in the form of oil at Kuruni per mā [101] or in the form of gingeley at tūṇi per mā[102] the recovery rate of oil being one fourth.

In Peraiyūr the rent was at a higher rate of 2 tūṇi, padakku[103] for gingeley.

In Mēlattāṇiyam it was collected in cash for yielding lands at 2 paṇam for gingeley. [104]

These were all instances where the rates (varisai) were stipulated per mā.

There were other cases where the rates of rents were fixed on a share-crop basis. Examples are given below.

——>

Name of village	Date	Rates			
		Pisanam	*Summer crop*	*Gingeley*	*Varagu etc.*
Neḍunguḍi[105]	Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya year : 11	Vāram (half share)	$\frac{1}{3}$	—	Vāram (half share)
Ādanūr[106]	Jaṭāvarman Vira Sundara Pāṇḍya year : 12	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$ of the total dues fixed at 16 paṇam and 50 kalams.	—	—
Paḻangarai[107]	Saka 1403 A.D. 1481	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	Dry lands $\frac{1}{10}$
Kuḷavāypaṭṭi[108]	Saka 1440 A.D. 1518	$\frac{1}{3}$	—	—	—
Kōvilūr[109]	(lost)	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	—	—

Generally, the sale as Kuḍinīngā-dēvadāna conveyed also the rights of vendibility, gifting the lands, and of inheritance to the vendees. The merit of this tenure was it entailed no contingent dispossession or extinguishment of subsisting rights. It provided for optimum employment for the township-resident population, and bound them to the land and the township with permanency of occupancy, or tenancy. It was an effective means for ensuring agricultural extension and increasing agarian prosperity of the township and hence was widely adopted.

There was also an additional advantage for the temple. The sale-proceeds were either funded for renovation or invested, from the proceeds of which recurring items of expenditure such as clothings or annual festivals could be met. Kuḍinīngā-dēvadāna tenure thus secured a triple advantage—(a) of realising sale-proceeds and funding it for the temple, (b) reclamation of the lands and bringing them for beneficial enjoyment, (c) a stipulated annual share of the produce. In return it conferred permanent occupancy rights on the vendee or assignee. It could be termed a 'sale' or conferment of permanent occupancy rights on Dēvadāna lands or village common sold.

Irayili Karankilamai

The second category of land held were under Iṛaiyili-Kāraṇ kiḻamai. There appeared to be three or four tiers of obligations fastened on the land at the stratum above the tenancy actually cultivating the lands.

Kaḍamai or Iṛai to the state or its assignees.

|

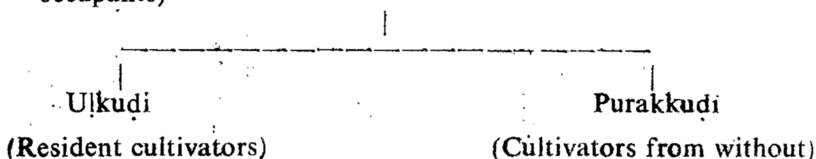
Kāraṇmai for the occupancy-holders

|

Mīyātci to the assignee or the landholder

|

Kuḍimai (rights and obligations of cultivators who might also be occupants)



The Kāraṇmai holder might or might not himself be a cultivator. In some cases he could not be a cultivating tenant himself. But a distinction between Kaḍamai and Kāraṇmai was always noticeable; they were divisible, mutually exclusive, and enjoyable separately. The lands, whether sold or owned, were freed by the vendors from the obligation to pay the land-dues by deposits of the capitalised amount with the township. The holders then undertook to pay the Kaḍamai to the temple or the deity they wished to provide for, retaining the Kāraṇmai or the occupancy rights of the landholder and the share of the yield due thereto to themselves. Sometimes, the Kāraṇmai also could be made over to the temple.

Specific cases are examined below, paying attention to the variants noticed.

In Kuḍumiyāmalai a garden was donated, and as it had no water, a land to the south of the river was purchased by the benefactor from the Ūrār on 'Iṟaiyili Kāraṇkiḻamai'. The lands were rendered tax-free, the dues being endowed to the temple but those who tended the garden were to have the Kāraṇkiḻamai rights.[110]

Kāngēyan, a chieftain gave Danmadāna Kāraṇmai. He stipulated the Kāraṇmai (landlordship-occupancy) shall be enjoyed by a priest of Tirukkōḷakkuḍi Candrasēkhara Bhaṭṭa. The taxes and land dues at stipulated rates shall be payable to Tiruvagastīsvaranāyanār of Nelvāyil.[111]

Another similar division of Kāraṇmai to Uttama Cōḻā Brahmādirāyan and the Kaḍamai and other tax yields to the Nelvāsal temple was made by Kāngēyan in A.D, 1243.[112]

A chieftain, Kalvāyil Nāḍāḻvan gave his occupied holding (Kāṇi Paṟṟu) Manni-sey to the temple as Iṟaiyili Kāraṇkiḻamai.[113]

The Ūrār of Srīpirāntakanallūr sold as Iṟaiyili Kāraṇkiḻamai maḍappuram to a Maṭha from whom they had borrowed earlier some cash to pay up arrears of land dues defaulted by some past holders in the township,[114] when the royal officers put them to all hardships insisting on payment.

In Virāccilai, the Paḍaipaṟṟu Township, Kāraṇmai was granted to the temple Saivā-cāryā, Kōilvāsal Piccai mudaliār, and the Kaḍamai to the temple.[115]

The Arayars of Mēla Kuruṇḍaṇparai and Kīḻa-Kuruṇḍaṇparai

gave their holding (Engaḷ kāṇi) as Ūr-Kīḻ Iṛaiyili Dēvadāna Kārāṇmai, i.e: the taxes to be borne by the Ūr, and tax-free to the temple but the Kārāṇmai rights of the donors also were transferred to the temple of Vaḍapulamuḍaiyanāyanār at Ādanūr.[116]

The Nagarattār of Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya-puram sold their two ayacuts as Kārāṇ-kiḻamai to the temple at Pillamangalam,[117] The Nattar followed suit to declare these lands sold as Iṛaiyili, impliedly, taking the obligation on themselves.[118]

In Unāiyūr Suṇdaratōḷuḍaiyān gave up his Kārāṇ-kiḻamai rights to the goddess shrine and the Ūrār taking the obligations on themselves, remitted the land dues there on.[119]

A case was already noticed where a land was endowed by Kāngēyar to the goddess shrine in Kuḍumiyāmalai. The vendees from the erstwhile-owner established their claim for the occupancy, and accordingly the grant was restricted to Kaḍamai and the vendees were allowed to enjoy Kārāṇmai rights.[120]

A donor in Kāraiyūr on the occasion of his visiting Vaḍa-Madurā -puri excluded Kārāṇmai in one-half of the fields, and in the other half gave 3 kalam, tūṇi, padukku of paddy per *mā*, in addition to the Kaḍamai at the stipulated rātes, i. e: Kaḍamai and the Kārāṇmai to gether,[121] in the second half.

In Ālathūr a dancing girl, Ēnāvuḍaiya Nācciyār purchased the Kārāṇmai lands from the Ūrār 12 *mā* in extent for 14,000 *kasu*. The Kaḍamai at stipulated rates was to be paid to the temple.[122]

In Tiruvaranguḷam, as already noticed, the Nāṭṭār endowed as Maḍappuram lands, extinguishing the Kārāṇmai rights (Kārāṇkiḷamai nīnglāha) as 'Sarva-mānyam'. The land dues were to be bone by the Nāṭṭar. The Māṭham was authorised to induct cultivating tenants of their choice, and have the lands ploughed and cultivated.[123]

An undated record in Ūnaiyūr (Ukirayūr) stated that 10 *mā* of land for the Siva Temple and 5 *mā* of land (with Kārāṇmai and Mīyātci) as maḍappuṛam were endowed in the first instance. This was modified to add 3 *mā* more with Kārāṇmai rights to the temple, reduting the maḍappuṛam to 2 *mā* at the request of the Maṭha-chief.[124]

A Sundaram record stated that 1/4 of the ayacut in the village had belonged to the Visṇu temple as Iṛaiyili. Excluding the lands in which the temple had Kārāṇmai rights, the temple shall get the land

dues on the rest. If anyone wanted to sell a holding (so paying Kaḍamai) he was free to do so, but the vendee shall pay the Kaḍamai to the temple[125]

It was evident that in the gradation of land obligations the Kaḍamai to the king and the dues to the Ūr and Nāḍu came first, and next the Kārāṇmai rights. In lands in which the temple had Kārāṇmai rights, they had to pay the Kaḍamai and other land dues unless specifically remitted. The last case that would imply as the Kaḍamai, in any case, had belonged to the temple, an additional share was due from those lands in which they had Kārāṇmai

On the rest of the lands paying Kaḍamai to the temple, the Kārāṇmai rights had belonged to the holders. From the analysis above the Kārāṇ-kiḻamai holders could be better treated as an occupancy land-holders rather than as cultivating tenants. In some cases they could themselves be cultivating, but in others they distinctly could not be, and as such cultivatlon was not the *differentia* of these landholders. The rates of dues stipulated were varied, and payable per mā for cultivated and yielding lands, as per the scale prescribed (varisai). In "Iṛaiyili KārāṇKiḻamai" the beneficiary was enjoying either the Kaḍamai or land-dues portion, or Kārāṇmai (share of produce belonging to the occupancy or land-holder) or both sometimes converging to the beneficiary from two different sources of grant or endowment.

Kudininga Karan-kilamai

"Iraiyili Kārān-kiḻamai" brought out the relationship between the State and the landholders and/or the beneficiary. Where the land dues to the State, the Nāḍu and the township had been capitalised for payment through a deposit with the latter, or alternatively they had been remitted by the respective competent bodies, the benefit of the "land-dues" went to the beneficiary-temple of other institutions.

The landholder had his rights secure, to get the share belonging to him from the fruits of cultivation. He might also choose to transfer, assign the whole or donate a part of it to the beneficiary, temple or other institution.

The term "Kārāṇ-kiḻamai" seems to connote the leadership and

denotes that the holding belonged to him and his obligation to pay land-dues (if not remitted or otherwise provided for), and his right to enjoy the produce from the cultivation of the holding. It would be vaguely analogous to a "Paṭṭadar" or landlord of an "estate" holding the land under the State or its assignee. He need not again be the actual cultivator. Indeed in some cases he could not be.

"Iṛayili Kārāṇmai", and "Kuḍinīnga-Kārāṇmai" need not be mutually exclusive. The first represented the nature of obligations of the Kārāṇkiḷamai-holder to the State, or its assignees as noticed above. The latter term would denote the inextinguishable rights of the Kārāṇmai-holder, the vendee-benefactor, or an assignee of the temple. He could in his turn reflect the security of tenure on the sub-tenants under him. In other words, it denoted land-holding rights with occupancy and also its inextinguishable character which could be expected to be reflected by him on the sub-tenancy holding the land under him.

Under "Kuḍinīnga-Kārāṇmai" invariably. an immutable quantum was fixed as payable to the beneficiary; (vāḍākkaḍan); variation seems to be an exception. This distinguished the tenure from others where a kaḍamai rate per mā was indicated with graded scales (varisai) payable for yielding occupied holdings to the beneficiary.

The straightforward example occurs from Kunnāṇḍārkōil. The Nagarattār of Vṛdarājabhayankarapuram alias Perunguḍi declared themselves as ("kuḍimakkkaḷ") under the temple, and agreed to pay as vāḍākkaḍamai per year 1,000 kāsu (for their holdings)[126]. Here in effect, by a voluntary endowment the occupant-holders under the State converted their status into occupancy-tenants contracting to pay the fixed obligation (or rental) to the temple every year.

The further evidence culled from typical cases is set out below.

In Paḻangarai the Nāṭṭār and temple authorities conveyed two fields belonging to the temple as Dēvadāna on Kuḍinīngākārāṇmai tenure to Periyān Śeṇbagam alias Cēra-Pāṇḍya Thēvar of Nelmēli. He had the freedom to raise any crop in the lands, but had to measure out as "Vāḍāoṭṭu", (fixed agreement or contract) 20 kalams for the above lands, and another 10 kalams for dry and forest reclaimed lands in Kīramangalam.[127]

The same Cēra-Pāṇḍya Thēvar was given Ālanguḍi fields, wet and

dry lands and tanks on the same tenure; and another Kaṇḍankuḍikkāḍu, all Dēvadāna lands. He had to measure 20 kalams of paddy and for dry lands pay 40 paṇam. He had also the obligation to measure mēlvāram (was this a Mīyātci right ?) at 1/3 yield for the food offerings to the goddess.[128]

Sōthi Āḻvār who had purchased Sārāivayal in Virayāccilai was to pay a Vāḍākkaḍamai of 40 kalams of paddy, besides other cesses.[129]

Sometimes the Vāḍākkaḍamai was payable in cash. A goldsmith (kammāḷar) of Neivāsal Tiruvarangan Aḷagan *alias* Kāngeyattaṭṭān was given a KuḍinīngākKāṇi in the ayacut of Vaḷattuvāḻvitta-nallūr against which he had to pay a Vādakkaḍamai of 25 rāsipaṇam.[130] The Chieftain Kāngēyan (whom he served and named himself after) remitted the taxes and cess payable on the lands.

When the Urār, the Nagarattār and the Nāttār sold Illanūr, a village as a detached bit (for default of payment of land dues by the erstwhile holders) they stipulated the purchaser, a Kaikōḷa of of Madurai, Aḻagiya Sokka-nārāyaṇa Vīra Pāṇḍya Māḷuvaccakravarti to pay as Vāḍākkaḍamai separately for the purchased ayacut, 330 panam, payable in two instalments, 6/10 from the main crop harvest, and 4/10 from summer crop.[131]

In Ādanūr the temple authorities gave an ayacut Arasamaṇavāḷa-nallūr to one Cellapillai Parākrama Pāṇḍya Amarakkōn *alias* Vaṇṇakan Uyyakkoṇḍan of Tirunāvalūr in Tirumunaippāḍi. His fixed land dues were 16 paṇams and 50 kalams of paddy. He had the freedom to cultivate sugar-cane and any other crops of his choice and could level up the land and grow plantain. He could even establish habitats and induct cultivators (*kuḍi*) of his choice. 3/4 of the fixed dues was to be paid from *pisānam* harvest, and 1/4 from the summer harvest[132]

An ayacut of Taniyānā-vitta-Nallūr was similarly held on a vāḍākkaḍamai of 60 kalams and 20 paṇams. The assignee had the freedom to choose crops "(Karumbu, TalaiKommaḍikkaḍaiyāha uḷḷa Bhōgattukku"),[133] on an-all-the-year round rotation.

An instance from Tirugōkarṇam was a variant. Periyavēḷār the Arayan of Tirvēṭpūr had purchased from the Nāṭṭār an ayacut Perinjāvur, excluding earlier grants. He agreed to pay Rājakaram to the king at 60 paṇam (fixed assesssment or Vāḍākkaḍamai) besides

measuring out 3 kalams per mā and half that rate for the summer crops, and 3 paṇams per year for tree-yields and dry crops[134]

One more variant was from Tenmāvūr. The Arayars who took the Pāḍikkaval obligations in Tenmāvūr had agreed to pay Vāḍākkadamai of 60 kalams to the temple.[135]

To sum up, the persons who had taken lands on this tenure were noticeably chieftains, benefactors or men of substance and influence hailing even from afar. They could apparently command greater facilities and had resources to invest on the improvements of tanks and ayacuts. They enjoyed a greater measure of freedom in raising crops. The extent of holdings taken by them were also some what larger than the smaller parcels of land, generally, noticed under Iṛaiyili Kārāṇmai. The lands undertaken on such fixed obligation could be either Dēvadāna land, in which case the demand was payable to the temple, or even to the State as in the instance from Tirugōkarṇam or they could be unocupied lands and ayacuts in the township. It could be inferred that the holders under this tenure stood to gain from the extension of cultivation, and improvements to land, and in the pattern of cropping effected by them for which they had some freedom. Also they were in the nature of agricultural entrepreneurs, subject only to the implied condition of not ousting subsisting tenants if any, but could induct others in addition if need be. The arrangement had thus fully protected the interests of resident tenantry, without hindering the needed supplementation from outside. The township could also avail itself of the services of men from outside to improve its own economic prosperity. This could be compared to the "Kaṭṭukkuttagai" system of lease in modern times, with this difference that the holders of lands had the occupancy rights and were not mere lessees.

Tirunamattukkani

A distinction should be made between 'Dēvadāna' lands and 'Tirunāmattukkāṇi'. The rights of the temple in the latter category were far more. They were co-eval with the full rights of occupant-land-holders. Where the lands were relieved of the land-dues and obligations these rights could be even larger than those of an occupant holder. And being land in the name of the deity, the township, too

was relieved of the proportionate incidence of service obligations attached to the land.

In Kuḍumiyāmalai it was explicitly stated a land owned by the temple being Tirunāmattukkāni, the antarāya, adaraviniyōgam, and āltēvai, need not be included in the tax-bearing lands of the township (Ūr. poravu) and rendered to the King's Officers (Tiṛappaṛku), in respect of this temple land.[136]

There were cases where Kuḍinīnga-dēvadāna land was sold and converted into Tirunāmatukkāṇi. In Kīḻattāṇīyam, some holders Rājarāja Cōḷa Vēḷar and others deserted the village citing one Viḻup-pādarāyar of Ollaiyūrmangalam as a surety. As the land-dues fell into arrears, on the royal officers' insistence for payment, the holdings in the Dēvadāna village as Kuḍinīngā-dēvadānam belonging in equal shares to the deserters and the surety were sold to the temple at Kīlat-tāṇīyam for 89 kāsu as Tirunāmattukkāṇi. Here the right to varisai or payment of rent granted to the temple and Kaḍamai dues enjoyed by them already had become enlarged by the purchase.[137]

A Kuḍumiyāmalai instance provided the very reverse of the above and brought out the relative rights under each. Taṭṭārkuḷam, tank and ayacut were abandoned and needed reclamation. These were held as Tirunāmattukkāṇi of the temple. The tank and ayacut lands were sold in public auction to be taken up under Kuḍinīngādēvadāna tenure for reclamation. Two Siva-Bṛāhmaṇas responded and offered to buy the lands for 30 paṇams. They could have the right of vendi-bility and gifting away the lands. After reclamation the rates at which kaḍamai was to be paid to the temple were stipulated. In doing so, it was expressly stated that Antarāyam, Adaraviniyōgam and Āḷtēvai were not to be rendered proportionate to the land with the rest of the fields of the township. The obligations of the vendee were some-what favourable vis-a-vis the township. The temple had abridged its rights of the full ownership of the holdings held prior to the sale, which included latent possibility of cultivation by hired labour, and full enjoyment of the produce. It had converted itself to the status of a landlord entitled to receive only the "kaḍamai" the land dues, and rental obligation from the inextinguishable occupant vendees inducted, who were Siva Bṛāhmaṇās.[138]

In rare cases, however, even Tirunāmattukkāṇi lands had carried

with them previous occupancy-holders. An ayacut called Sēra.l Ēndal endowed for a new deity installed in Koḍumbaḷūr was granted (remitting the taxes) and reducing it from the assessed lands but as Kuḍinīngā-Tirunāmattukkāṇi. This was perhaps an exception. It implied that the occupancy rights of the subsisting tenants would continue, but perhaps when these interests got extinguished, the temple could thereafter exercise its rights as a full holder of the land.[189] It might also mean that the temple would have full rights of an occupancy-holder in lands which were unoccupied or in which occupancy rights did not subsist.

Tirunāmattukkāṇi lands are a species of Dēvadāna lands. The temple had the landholders, (Kāṇiyāḷar rights) and not merely the assignments of the land dues. It could also imply if the land had been purchased by the temple from previous peasant occupants, it would be liable to pay the land dues in full unless remitted by the king or the liabilities were determined otherwise. But the share of produce from such purchased lands might be larger in its quantum, and more so, if the land was under direct cultivation by the temple, and besides the land was granted immunity from cash levy, and other service obligations.

Murruttu

In the earlier types of tenures, lands were either held under the temple by intermediaries on condition of a fixed rental being paid. Alternatively, they were held by tenants, big and small, having occupancy rights tendering a scale of rental whether they were actually cultivating the lands or not themselves. There was another form of enjoyment of the temple lands. This last method could also have been adopted by other large estate-holders. This was the direct cultivation or "home-farm" method by which the entire proceeds from the land were appropriated by the holder himself. It was hence termed "Muṟṟūṭṭu".

The earliest instance of the temple executives undertaking cultivation (i.e: through hired labour or tenants at will) and supervising them occurs in a copy of an inscription of Rājēndra Cōḷa I at Pērāmbūr, dated in the 17th year, (AD 1029). It sets out the detailed provisioning for temple servants, services and offerings.

The Ūrār laid down the scale of the paddy to be paid for each of these items, and assigned the lands from the proceeds of which the respective services had to be paid in paddy. The Ūrār of Parambaiyūr also agreed to bear themselves the land-dues of all kinds. It contained a specific provision that those Dēvadāna lands shall be (caused to be) or cultivated by the temple-servants themselves and supervised by them. (Iddēvadānamāna nilam Ittirukkōil-uḍaiyārgaḷē uḻudum... (Pār)ttumkoḷvārkaḷāgavum).[140]

This implied (a) that some of the temple servants could and would cultivate the lands themselves, taking their remuneration or share of the produce at the stipulated rates and (b) other lands shall be cultivated by the tenants-at-will under the supervision of the temple executives.[141]

In the 15th year of Rājarāja (unidentified) among the benefactions of one Vēḷān Kōtaṇḍan of Sikhānallūr, a land from the villagep common holding was set apart for serving new year's food-offering- (Tiruppudiyidu amudhu-seidaruḷa). The land so sold was to be ploughed and cultivated and the full proceeds were to be given to the temple. Kaṇṇappan Kōvan Uḍaiyān and others were allotte- a share of land arai-kāṇi in extent in Puḷāmparikal field which was to be ploughed and cultivated and yield given for the purpose assigned in full (*Idutannilēviccukkudukka uḻudu payirērṛi mṛṛūiṭṭum kuḍuppās anāga.*[142]

In Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I's reign (9th year-A.D. 1225), the Ūrār of Parambaiyūr provided a permanent lamp service. It required 96 nāḻi of ghee. The Ūrār gave a land Kuḷappaṭṭi 2 *mā* in extent which the temple had purchased from Kārkuḍi Ūrār to two Sivabrāhmaṇas of the temple, of Gouthama Gōtra-Āḷuḍaiyān Serindi-vanapperumāḷ and others and Āṇḍāṇ Māṇikkathēvar and others. They were to take possession as 'Muṛṛūṭṭū (*Muṛṛūṭṭāha Kaikoṇḍu*) and arrange for the lamp service.[143] The full produce from the land went to the Siva-brāhmaṇas.

In Jaṭāvarman Vīrā Pāṇḍya's reign 15th year (A.D. 1269), the Visalūr Urār had referred to an arrangement made by them and the Nāṭṭār of Iraṇḍukarai for the benefit of the temple at Kuḍumiyā-mālai. As an ayacut had been overgrown with big trees, the Kaḍamai, and Kīḻirai were lost to the temple ; they had requested the

chieftain who had conquered the tract, Vaippūruḍiyār to repair the tank, form bunds, and divert the waters of Veḷḷār into the tank, and take possession as his 'personal' cultivation (i.e: through his own tenants-at will) and give out of the yield Kaḍamai, Kīḻiṛai to the temple. Thus he was himself directly cultivating the lands, as "Paṇṇai".

This was objected to by the two Pāṇḍyan Chieftains, Vāṇādarayar and Kāngēyar, and they directed the Ūrār to resume possession and pay according to their share for the township, ponvari and viniyōgam besides the dues to the temple.

The Ūrār had no resources to meet the demand. Hence they sold one-half of the ayacut, 3 *vēlis* in extent and the proportionate sharer of the tank, and sluice flows to the temple as "Tirunāmattukkāṇi Kōil Uḻavu Muṟṟūṭṭu'.[144]

Apparently, the lands became the absolute holding of the temple which the temple servants were themselves to arrange to be cultivated with hired labour and tenants-at-will. The full yield therefrom, after paying only the labour-hire and bearing the cultivation expenses, were to be appropriated by the temple.

When the lands held by the Siva-Brāhmaṇas who stole the jewellery from the Temple-treasury, were confiscated, these lands were thereafter, to be enjoyed by the Kudumiyāmalai temple by direct cultivation, appropriating the full yield.[145]

The Ūrār also seemed to have endowed cattle and ploughs and other requirements for direct cultivation by the temple. In the 33rd year of Kulasēkhara the Ūrār of Taḷakkā had endowed for the direct cultivation of the temple-lands Nāyanār Muṟṟūṭṭu Uḻavukku of Varaguṇaīsvaramuḍaiyār of Ollayūrmangalam a certāin number of cattle or sheep (?) (which shall not get extinct) and 4 ploughs.[146] This practice could have been prevalent also in other townships.

In Siddhārthi year, Pālaikkuḍi, Kaḷanguḍi and Kiḷinallūr were sold to the temple as Tirunāmattukkāṇi to Tiruvaranguḷam temple. In Ś. 1442 (AD 1520-21) the Nāṭṭār declared it as "Sarvamānyam Tirunāmattukkāṇi" in which the Temple Treasury authorities could induct the tenants of their choice. *Tān vēṇḍiya Kuḍimūṭṭi Kōil Bhaṇḍārattār Paṇṇai Vaithuk Koḷvārāhavum*) and directly cultivate the land as Paṇṇai.[147]

Three years later, in S. 1445 (A.D. 1523-24), the Nāṭṭār again remitted the *per capita* tax levied on the tenants inducted by the Temple authorities and they directed the levies and the free unpaid services of the tenants hitherto rendered to the township by the Veḷḷāḷars and tenants from outside the township shall thereafter be rendered to the temple [148]

From this evidence the following conclusions can be deduced. Muṟṟūṭṭū (literally fully-appropriated yield) whether held by an individual holder or the temple would have had the following characteristics.

(1) The Kaḍamai and other State dues shall be payable to the King (unless remitted) or to the temple or beneficiary assigned.

(2) The temples or holders of the land will be free to engage their own tenants at will or hired labour and consequently unless specifically recognised, they would not have any occupancy rights.

(3) The entire yield from the land will be approp.iated by the temple, barring the customary hired cultivator's share if any.

(4) The temple would have its own cattle-stock or ploughs, and other agricultural implements for use in such cultivation.

(5) The inputs, seeds, manure, and ploughs etc., had necesarily to be contributed from and borne by the temple or the holder of the land, and consequently, the risks of cultivation.

(6) The temple servants were to arrange for induction of tenants and supervise the cultivation operation. The two Siva-Brāhmaṇas who undertook to maintain the lamp service would also have been likewise superintending cultivation as they themselves could not cultivate the lands,

(7) This method would particularly have been pressed into service where lands endowed as Dēvadāna had no occupants, and the obligation to bear the land dues had not been taken. In such cases direct cultivation had to be arranged for by the temple to get the benefit.

(8) Also the lands in which the temple itself was a full occupant-holder *Tirunāmattukkāṇi)* they could avail themselves of the direct cultivition method. This method could also be of avail for cultivating lands purchased by the temple from previous occupants, where there were no subsisting tenancy.

(9) Muṟṟūṭṭu, as the term suggests, seems to be identical with 'Paṇṇai' or 'home-farm' self-cultivation under direct supervision of the holder.

An occupant-holder making over the yield to temple and subrogating his own interests to it.

An interesting casc from Neivāsal brought out how an occupant-cultivator had endowed the full yield from his own holding to the temple. This indirectly threw light on what would be the condition on which agrarian labour would work even under direct cultivation by the temple. In the 42nd year of Jaṭāvarman Vīra-Pāndya, Ponnan Aḻagīyaperumāḷ of Sūraikkuḍi (on the Tēnār belt) had purchased from the Nāṭṭār of Kalvāyil-nāḍu a field Kāḍavadaraiyar Kuḍikkāḍu and surrounding fields in Nelvāsal. He had also got it rendered tax-free by (paying the capitalised dues to) the Nāṭṭār. He had endowed it to the Nelvāsal deity for food-offerings as Dēvādana as Kuḍinīngākkāṇi holding from which the occupants rights were not extinguished. But without claiming seeds, daily food or sustenance and ploughs from the temple. (Vittali, Kūḻili, Ēriliyāha Kuḍinīngākkāṇiyāha Nān uḻudu), he would himself cultivate (presumably contributing the inputs himself) the lands and would deliver to the deity at the following proportions of the yield (Viḻukkāḍu):

For pasānam	... ...	$\frac{1}{4}$ of yield
For Summer–crop	... ...	$\frac{1}{5}$,, ,,
For sugar-cane, turmeric and plantain	...	$\frac{1}{6}$,, ,,

He also agreed that while he cultivated these lands he would pay Kuruṇi paddy (per taḍi) towards the supervising fee (Kaṇkāṇi) for the temple executives and servants, and agreed to deliver paddy under their superintendence (Kaṇkāṇippaḍi Parimāruvadāhavum). He also agreed to get the fee payable for Koṭṭar (labourers who deliver paddy in the temple granary-or those (tending and maintaining cattle and cattle-shed and gathering manure therefrom (?) etc), Kūḷari (in lieu of daily food for harvesters (?) and Uḻamai–cūḍu (i.e: a share of the sheaves while being threshed to separate grain due to the ploughman of the land) and Kuḍikkali (the share of a temple tenant) to be paid to him at the rates payable for the Paṟayan (or hired labourer who had no rights on the land), These terms shall also apply to the

dry lands. He endowed the land which was included in his own holding, to the deity on these terms. The Nāṭṭukkaṇakku wrote the deed.[149]

In this instance a holder of land with occupancy right had got it declared as tax-free, and voluntarily agreed to bear the cultivation expenses, and endowed the stipulated proportion of the yield to the temple bearing also the fee for temple superintendence. He had agreed to get in return a reimbursement of the cultivation expenses, in part, at the rates payable to a tenant at-will engaged under direct cultivation.

A Sum up

Lands were either occupied or unoccupied. The predominant demographic composition of the holders of the land was the basis for the classification of the township, as Brahmadēya, as Nagaram, Paḍaippaṟṟu and ūr. Where the township was endowed for a temple as a Dēvadāna, the content of the grant could vary. A mere description as "Dēvadāna" did not *ipsofacto* convey absolute immunity from land dues.

Land dues had to be tendered in many forms and to several agencies. The King and his men were only one among them. What was remitted was a question of fact referrable to the deed of title or grant. The King's share of land dues (Kaḍamai, Antarāyam. etc) was, of course, the principal constituent of the grant from the occupied holdings. Where unoccupied lands got occupied and become holdings, or where the temple had acquired occupied and assessed holdings, the land dues thereform could be got transferred to the temple. One method was by outright grant by the King or his chieftains. There was another when one occupant bought lands from another, and retained thē Kārāṇmai rights with himself, he would have the primary land-due share or a portion thereof, assigned to the temple on payment of a favourable purchase price, Kaṟpūravilai, to the royal chieftains or officers to terminate the obligations.

The grant of the King's shares could not by itself extinguish the obligations of the holdings to the Nāḍu and the Ūr or the Nagara. They could be either waived, with or without consideraiion, by the townships and the Nāḍu respectively. Usually a capitalised deposit was taken by them for them to discharge the respeetive

obligations, and where due, to defray the land-dues to the king from out of the proceeds. The critical examination of evidence could dispel the *apriori* impression that assignments or foregoing of land dues by the king in Dēvadāna and Brahmadēya villages was universal. Subsidiary obligations due to the Nāṭṭār and the townships subsisted even on temple-lands unless explicitly waived by them. In practice, where the king or his officers gave away his share for a public, charitable or religious purpose, it evoked a ready and positive response from the townships and the nāḍu to forego theirs.

Unoccupied lands in the township were held in common. These included long wastes, scrub jungles, lands escheated or reverted to the township for default of land dues or due to desertion of holders or abandoned or relinquished holdings ; holdings of persons excommunicated, ostracised or convicted for grave crimes against the deity and the township were resumed and incorporated with the village common and in the last case made over to the temple.

These could be in blocks or large extensive areas, or parcels of lands of erstwhile holdings. These latter could have been uneconomic and even fragmented, The large blocks of unoccupied lands could have been located in the extremities of the village or could be of the lowest productivity.

A second category of unoccupied holdings were the house-sites or the Ūr-natham which was earmarked for residential areas, and was more valuable.

The township assiduosly endeavoured to turn these lands to beneficial enjoyment. Pending conversion of the lands into occupied holdings, they leased them for a bid. The unoccupied lands were sold in public auction and were converted into occupied holdings. The vendees either retained them or endowed them for temple or public uses and services. Unoccupied lands endowed to temples, too, were the joint concern of the townships in their collective responsibility. Together with the temple authorities and others having oversight over the endowmetns, the townships tried to convert them into occupied holdings to bring them under cultivation. The townships also allocated lands from such village common on service tenure for craftsmen and servants to attend to the needs of the community and the temple. They were held as "estates-upon-condition". that is, as

long as the services were rendered, or the holders were eligible to perform such services.

The available evidence is copious by their nature on two aspects.

(1) the relationship between the king or grantor of the land-dues and the temple or the grantee,

(2) the relationship between the grantee and the next tiers of holders under them who arranged for or themselves undertook cultivation and agreed to pay the stipulated dues or shares to the temple.

This second relationship could be one of the following forms.

(1) Kuḍinīkki Dēvadānam
(2) Kuḍinīnga Dēvadānam
(3) Iṛaiyili Kārāṇkḻamai
(4) Kuḍinīngāk Kārāṇkiḻamai
(5) Muṟṟūṭṭu

Tirunāmattukkāṇi or absolute holdings of the temples also could either be cultivated through tenants, or by direct cultivation. They could also be converted into Kuḍinīnga Dēvadānam and *vice versa*, creating or extinguishing occupancy and abridging or enlarging, correspondingly, the temple's rights,

Instances of 'Kuḍinīkki Dēvadānam' were comparatively scarce in this tract. The reason was not far to seek. Enough lands were available to be occupied and to be brought under cultivation. Even lands and ayacuts already granted to temples or other beneficiaries were unoccupied, abandoned or lying waste for long. For the same reason inter-se transfers of the subsisting tenure from Vēḷḷānvagai toin Brahmadēya or *vice versa* after acquisition, or purchase by the grantor were seldom noticed.

The advantage to the Dēvadāna grantees under Kuḍinīkki-Dēvadāna was that the land was unencumbered and the terms and obiigations of tenancy could be modified to the formers advantage. In practice, the erstwhile occupancy-holders (kuḍi) could themselves have been allowed to continue, but as occupancy-tenants if they agreed to the terms stipulated by the temple.

"Kuḍinīngādēvadāna" constituted the largest category of transactions evidenced. The unoccupied lands and abandoned tanks and their ayacuts in the townships were sold, many to be endowed by the

benefactors to the temples. Dēvadāna lands also were similarly sold for reclamation and to be brought under cultivation. In this tenure, the term 'kuḍi' seems to have been used to refer to the vendee-benefactor who, in his turn would have reflected the security of tenure to the subtenants holding] the lands under him. The lands were converted into occupied holdings, and the vendee had the right to bequeath, as inheritance, sell or gift away the acquired righs. He sometimes paid the land-dues where assigned to a beneficiary and delivered a share of the yield to the temple at the stipulated rates. In other cases he deposited the capitalised amount with the township, and freed the lands from the obligation to pay the land dues; instead these were made payable to the temple. The temple also realised the sale-value for the land which it could fund for repairs or other items of expenditure. It was a mutually satisfactory arrangement. The occupant was assured of his holding, and had acquired an inextinguishable right. The temple too secured an assured scale of payment or a cropwise varied share from the land. By this arrangement, the risks of cultivation were shared equitably between the beneficiary and the occupant (Kuḍi)] Subtenants preferentially the residents of the township holding the land under the occupancy holder could also normally be expected to be secure. It was an effective instrument for bringing unoccupied lands under occupation, and for extension of cultivation.

Two other forms of sub-tenures deal with the Kārāṇmai rights. This could be interpreted to mean the landlord or landholder's share. In "IrayiliKārāṇmai" three possibilities could be noticed-

(1) The land dues were assigned (kaḍamai or Iṛai) to the beneficiary. The Kārāṇmai or the landholder's occupancy and its share were retained or left with the occupant.

(2) The Kārāṇmai rights were made over to the beneficiary without the waiver of land-dues or sometimes the township taking on the liability.

(3) The Kārāṇmai rights were endowed by its holder to the temple, and the land dues too were either directly assigned or taken over by the Ūrār thereby the benefit thereof also accruing to the beneficiary but from two different sources of grant.

The term brought out the relationship between the King and the

Chieftains, and the beneficiary on the one hand, and (ii) the beneficiary and the occupant-holder on the other.

Kuḍinīnga Kārāṇ Kiḻamai could be with or without the remission of taxes. It was primarily a creation of an occupancy interest or an 'estate' interest of holders who undertook to pay a fixed obligation or demand to the beneficiary. This was generally noticeable in Dēvadāna villages and as such, land dues would have been ordinarily assigned to the temples aḻready. Usually the extent of land under this type of holding was somewhat larger, and often the lands needed reclamation or improvement or provision of irrigation sources for conversion to wet. There was a measure of freedom of choice of crops, and also for inducting new tenants if needed allowed to the Kārāṇmai holder. The merits of this sub-tenure were (i) The temple was assured of a fixed immutable demand. The hazards of cultivation were borne by the occupant-holder. (ii) The occupant-landlord had the necessary incentive to improve, reclaim and develop the land and retain any net surplus to himself. He could be compared to an agricultural enterpreneur with permanant right of occupancy, and in its trait of fixed obligation, to "Kaṭṭukuttagai" system in modern times. The occupancy rights acquired by such land holder were, however, inextinguishable and in that respect he was not a lessee. Such holders might or might not, indeed some of them could not be, cultivators themselves.

The 'muṛṛūṭṭu' was direct cultivation by the holder of the land or the beneficiary appropriating fully the yield, bearing the cost of inputs for cultivation and engaging hired labour. There were no intermediary holders or occupants coming in between the temple and the actual cultivators. The temple servants themselves suprvised the lands, the cultivation and the yield. Some of them could, themselves, be the actual cultivators.

We have but some sidelights thrown on the actual cultivators and the conditions of their engagement. Besides supply of seeds, ploughs, and manure they were eligible for sustenance, daily food and also a share of the sheaves at the time of threshing and wages. Residential habitation was, no doubt, provided to them and customary presents at the time of festivals as in the month of Āḍi or Kārthigai which could have included clothing. Slaves were

also owned by principal families or Chieftains and some might also have been seconded to the temple service.

In the townships where the agriculturists predominated and the density of population was not thick it would have been common for the same agriculturists to have held lands of different tenures. Some were his own personal occupancy-holding paying land dues to the State (Kāṇi), some others belonging to the temple on one of the several sub-tenures, as well as some parcels held for cultivation under the direct supervision of the temple. The small men of small parcels would undoubtedly have combined under their enjoyment lands under the different tenures and sub-tenures to utilise fully their capabilities and augment their own resources. Reclamation of land and rehabilitation of townships had been recurringly undertaken. Extension of agriculture that was feasible, and sometimes undertaken due to war-time compulsions could also have tended to increase occupied holdings, even bringing submarginal lands under cultivation.

As against these constructive attempts, there were the negative features, the arid country, poor rainfall, flash floods and droughts alternatively. The Muslim incursion would also have ravaged the more prosperous townships on its route. The growing burden of land-dues in Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagar times and the increase in the upper tier of rentier class superimposed in the Nāyak and later times would only have led to the tenuous condition of holdings. Migration to more favourable areas was also noticed, under such circumstances.

The temple too would have had under its enjoyment an assortment of several kinds of holdings-lands in which it was assigned the land-dues, lands not exempt from land-dues but in which the Kārāṇmai rights were granted to the temple, lands in which they acquired both the interests but from different sources of grant, lands in which inextinguishable occupancy was created, lands from which they secured an immutable demand, lands from which they received varied rates of obligation, lands in which some cesses alone were payable by them to the township, and the Nāḍu, private occupancy holdings from which share of the produce was endowed by the occupants, and also lands directly cultivated by the temple authorities with hired labour, bearing the cost of cultivation themselves.

In some cases lands were not divided by metes and bounds to

reflect the individual enjoyment of the several holders or of the multiple interests. (Nilam-Kalanda). In such cases cultivation could only have been undertaken in common, and sharing of produce in the ratio of different titles and interests alone was possible.

The criteria that emerge by which the different tenures could be distinguished were the following :

(i)-(*a*) the content of the grant, whether of land dues in whole or in part or also of land (*b*) whether subsisting occupancy rights were extinguished or not on which depended the elasticity of the rental demand that could be made by the temple or the beneficiary (ii) the manner in which the risks of cultivation were borne and by whom. This latter, particularly, applied to sub-tenures. The general tendency was for the temple to secure its own share of the yield and for the occupant the inextinguishability of his holding rights, The occupant, where he himself was not a cultivator, could be presumed to reflect the security of tenure to the sub-tenants cultivating the lands under him.

In the generality of cases these cultivators or sub-tenants were residents of the township. Outsiders inducted were exceptional, and were discriminated against by a levy unless it was remitted in special cases by the Ūrār or the Nāṭṭār. Hence the security of the sub-tenants and the cultivators under the occupancy-holders could only have been inelastic, and this could even apply to the tenants-at-will employed in lands under direct cultivation.

The density of population could not have been high. Nor was mobility its normal characteristic. Right through the spread of the study period, land development and occupation were continuing. Social cohesion and residential integrity of townships had continued right till the 15th century, and it commenced weakening, perhaps, thereafter. Under such conditions security of the subtenants and the cultivators was not the problem, but the reverse of it, security of cultivation and yield-share from lands to the occupants, and the, beneficiaries, under strenuous natural conditions.

To repeat, the preoccupation of the medieval tenures was with the creation of different tiers of occupancy holders under the king or the temple or other assignees each, carving out the respective share of the yield. Th es tructure ofthe towns was communal,anditsrespoı- hdnsi.

bility collective. But in its management of lands the township was willingly inducting or creating more and more individual enjoyments and occcupancy rights which were inextinguishable and claimed intensely as personal.

While the modern land system is intent on classifying tenancies and their respective rights, the medieval structure concerned itself with the categorisation of occupant-holders and their obligations to the State and its assigness, the temple or other beneficiaries. The modern agrarian system seeks to unite or equate 'ownership' with cultivation. But the medieval tenure aimed at separating yield-shares among the different and distinguishable interests of holdings and occupancy, superimposed on lands.

A summary of the terms as interpreted in this Study and a paradigm that emerges are appended as Annexure II and Annexure III.

ANNEXURE I

Provision made for Temple Services

I. Cittūr-Rājarāja–22nd Year (A.D. I007) (PI : 85)

For Uvaccu (Piper) service	5	1½ *veli*	
Kāḷam 2, Conch 1, Timilai 1	4	½ *veli*	
Total		2 *veli*	(distributed at the head, middle and tail reaches of the ayacut).

II. Tiruviḷāngudi-Rājarāja I-28th year (A.D. 10 13)

(1) Uvaccu (Piper) 5
and conch blower 1 (PI : 89)
6

(2) Nivandakāra paṇi servants 5 at 2 *mā* each = 10 *mā*. (PI : 90)

(3) Tirumelukkupuram
(for cleaner) at 2 *mā*
(4) Kālam (horn-blower) 2 3 *mā* = *mukkāṇi*
(5) Tirunandavanam (for
tending garden) 2 *mā* = *kāṇi*
(6) Potter 1½ *mā*
(7) Tiruppaṇi (repairs) 1½ *mā*
(8) Washerman
Tiruparicattam
kaluvavān 1 *mā*
(9) For food offerings — —
(10) Lamp services 3 handlamps & one permanent lamp.
(11) The Brahmin who officiated at services.
(12) Festival on Panguni *sadayam*.
For Tiruppadiyam
Viṇṇappam ceyvār—at *padakku paddy* per day for 4 persons
= 2 *Tūṇi* per day against cash
3 *Kāsu* per year = in all 12 Kāsu

III. Pērāmbūr—Rājēndra Cōla—17th year (A.D. 1029) (PI : 99)

Cleaner	3 nāli of paddy per day
Garden tending	6 nāli per day
Potter	3 nāli per day
Evening lamp service —	2 1/16 nali per day
Total	Kuruṇi 6 nāli

ANNEXURE II

A Summary of tenurial terms interpreted

Devadana

Villages or ayacuts in which grant of land/land-dues from occupied holdings and also prospective proceeds from unoccupied land were made by the King to the temple.

They were free of encumbrances where the subsisting rights of occupants were extinguished. In others lands were unoccupied, and

inextinguishable occupancy rights were created or conferred in return for a stipulated share of yield to the beneficiary.

Irayili

Remission of land dues: Remission was secured (a) by outrigh grant by the King or his officers, (b) the township or Nāḍu under taking to bear the dues form their own resources (Ūr-K.ḻ-Iṛaiyili) cr (c) the township or the Nāḍu agreeing to tender the dues annually from out of a capitalised deposit (Iṛai-kāval = tax-vigil) made with them by a vendee or a donor, (d) In rare cases the donor himself agreed to bear and tender the land dues.

The obligation to the King was only a part of the total obligation on the land which included others to the Nāḍu and to the Ūr These bodies had to remit their part of the obligations which they did, generally, together with or following the royal grant, either with or without capitalised deposit.

Irai-Kavali (Tax-Vigil)

A deposit received by the Township or the Nāṭṭār, the interest proceeds from which were utilised to pay the land-dues to the King. It was so called because the deposit keeps a vigil for payment of the land-dues, and guards against any default. It covered the entire range of land-obligations.

Karpura Vilai

The purchase price paid to the King or the Chieftain usually on favourable terms so that a share of the land dues could be assigned to the beneficiary or the temple. The Kārāṇmai right in such lands were retained with the occupancy-holder. When unoccupied waste became occupied the land dues thereon could be similarly got assigned to the temple while the Kārāṇmai rights might be retained by the occupancy-holder who reclaimed the land. In rare cases, Kaṛpūravilai was deposited with the Ūrār and made payable through them. This, then, differed from Iṛaikāval in degree, as it covered a moiety of land dues.

Irayili Karankilamai

The land had divided interests, the land dues portion alone belonging to temple or alternatively the Kārāṇkiḻamai portion alone belonging to them. The third possibility could be a combination of both but converging to the temple from different sources of title.

Kudininga Karankilamai

Inextinguishable land-holders, occupancy rights usually created and fastened on unoccupied land against which the temple was to be paid an immutable demand. The hazards of cultivation as well as the benefits of future improvement and choice of crop and even the freedom to induct tenant-at-will accrued to the land-holders.

Kudinikki Devadana

Grants of lands to temples, extinguishing the rights of the subsisting occupancy.

Kudininga-Devadana

Lands granted to temples in which occupancy rights subsisting or created were inextinguishable. Village common lands and unoccupied lands could also be similarly converted into inextinguishable occupancy holdings. A scale of the share of the yield (varisai) was stipulated per mā and crop-wise for yielding lands subject to crop estimates. These were payable by the occupancy holders to the temple.

Tirunamattukkani

Holdings in which the occupancy right vested with the temple. Usually this term was applied to land held by Siva temple. Tiruviḍayāṭṭam was the corresponding term applied to lands held by temples of Visṇu. The lands on this tenure could be converted into one or the other of the sub-tenures described above, and vice versa. The lands on this tenure could at once be wider and narrower in the rights-content for the temple. If it was a private holding with subsisting land-dues obligation it would be narrower; if it was an occupancy holding with the land-dues also granted to the temple through one of the several means it was wider.

Murruttu

Lands of Devādāna or Tirunāmattuk kāni tenure held directly by the temple for its own cultivation through hired labour, the temple bearing the cultivation costs and risk. It could be described as "home-farm" land in which the entire yield was appropriated by the temple and there were no occupancy rights.

Similar direct cultivation could also be undertaken by chieftains or other large holders with hired labour who had no occupancy tenancy.

FOOT NOTES

1 The Colas Vol. II Pt. i-p.402 f.n.

2 P.I.-354, 356.

3 The struggle between concept and terminology, it has to be confessed, has been somewhat "quivering on the lips" in rendering the facts in the earlier studies. The formulation in this study should be taken to represent the present consummation of that cogitation.

4 P.I. 645-Nedungudi.

5 P.I. 742

6 P.I. 743

7 P.I. 418 Confer P.I. 200.

8 Throughout the expression 'land dues' is preferred to land revenue, as the land had borne several obligations and levies including services and these had to be rendered to several agencies as well.

9 P.I. 833 Sevalur S. 1422; A.D. 1500

10 P.I. 362 Confer P.I. 972

11 The Pudukkottai Manual, Vol. II Pt I, makes a succinct catalogue of the varied kinds of land-dues and levies and provides a suggestive sum-up of the results of scholarship at the time in interpreting these terms pp. 663-666.

12 P.I. 234; P.I. 243, 244, 245, 246, 289 etc.

13 P.I. 126. "Nadu vagai Seiginra" meant not only divison of the land of the Nadu or Survey, but also settling the occupation and holdings.

14 K—Kalam; T—Tuni; P—Padakku; N—Nali; Kur—Kuruni; Ulak—Ulakku.
P.I. 250
In the Cola's Vol. II Part I at pp. 146-147, Prof. Sastri cites two reasons why the Pandya, after being successful in A.D. 1216-17 against the Colas, did not annex the Cola country to his kingdom: firstly, the respect for the ancient and established line of royalty and the good policy laid down in Hindu Sastras never to disestablish an old line of kings, and (2) the Hoysala intervention to keep the balance of power. Could it also be that Sundara Pandya had received injuries or otherwise taken ill after the campaign and had to recover and recoup? If so, this could have dictated to Sundara Pandya the prudent course of restoring the kingdom to the Cola monarch, after he had gained his point.
(ii) 'Kudimai' occurring below in this inscription could refer to the obligations of the cultivators, or subtenants as well.
15 P.I. 549
16 P.I. 257
17 P.I. 254
18 P.I. 542
19 P.I. 153
20 P.I. 155
21 P.I. 116
22 P.I. 309
23 P.I. 100; P.I. 103
24 P.I. 408 & 409
25 It will be doing less than justice to Prof: K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's masterly interpretation to hold that he had ignored this pluralistic character and was inclined to exaggerate the centralised administrative impact. There are comments and notes in his own hand made as early as in 1916 and 1919 which show that he was deeply impressed by this pluralism.
26 P.I. 420
27 P.I. 553
28 P.I. 406
29 S.I.I. Vol. XXIII No. 168. p.p. 136.7

30 P.I. 469
31 See *supra*. Page 88-89
32 P.I. 198
33 P.I. 260
34 P.I. 261
35 P.I. 262
36 P.I. 265
37 P.I. 267
38 P.I. 269
39 P.I. 277
40 P.I. 292
41 P.I. 293
42 In the inscription that follows, the estate is described as his 'Jivitaparru'.
43 P.I. 306
44 P.I. 307
45 P.I. 328 & 329
46 P.I. 568
47 Epigraphica Indica Vol IV pp. 137–138
48 The Colas, Vol II, Pt. I, p.337-338.
49 Vide Prof. Sastri's paper "Irai, Irai Kaval and Iraiyili" Dr S.K. Aiyanger commemoration Volume p.195.
50 South Indian Temple Inscriptions by T.N. Subramanyam "Kovil Nilangalai Payirittu Anubhavippadarkku Avatrin-variyayum-certlu Mottamaha kodukkum panam".
51 Epigraphica Indica Vol. IV pp. 137-140
52 South Indian Inscriptions Vol. XIII No. 182 p. 100

There was a similar sale of the Devadana share belonging to Madurai Temple in Mathur, a hamlet of Mudittalaikonda Pandya Caturvedimangalam which was *Tirunamattukkani*. The lands were long waste, without field bunds, and overgrown with trees and it was sold to one Madevan Alagiya–Sokkanar alias Sundarapandya Cola Kkonar, a Kaikola (weaver) of the Temple for 250 new Guligai panam decided as Karpura-vilai. Though the inscription does not explicitly state that the Karpuravilai was paid to the royal officers, the term "Ippadi Karpura-Vilai "*Odukki*"-implies the amount was remitted, deposited or tendered (to the King's officers).

The temple was fo receive a graded scale of land-dues from the Karanmai holder as follows :—

1st year of reclamation	...	4	kalams per ma
2nd year ,,	...	6	,, ,,
3rd year ,,	...	8	,, ,,
4th year ,,	...	10	,, ,,
5th year ,,	...	12	,, ,,
6th year ,,	...	15	,, ,,

and thereafter it was to be the permanent or fixed (Nilai-varisai) or settled rate.

(S.I.I. Vol IV/No. 371)

The other half of Mathur village held on Brahmadeya Tenure was also, for the same reasons, sold to the same vendee as the Brahmadeya tenure-holders could not cut the forest, and reclaim and cultivate those lands.

(Ibid No. 370)

It would be interesting to compare the price paid for the purchase of Brahmadeya 1/2 share with the Karpura vilai stipulated in the first transaction, but unfortunately the latter inscription (No. 370) is silent on the quantum of the price.

(I am grateful to Mr. N. Kasinathan who invited my attention to the first inscription. I, had, already indexed these, but did not refer to them in the text the evidence being inferential.

53 S.I.I. Vol. XXIII No. 90 p.54

54 Ibid No. 91 p. 55

55 The comment in Pudukkottai Manual (Vol. II) (Pt I-p. 655) that Karpuravilai was a "Siddhaya ' or a tax paid in cash requires modification. The payment was in cash, but it was not a tax but a payment in lieu of taxes, to terminate the obligation, and divert it to the temple. Dr. Nagaswami has invited my attention to one meaning in Tamil Lexicon given to "Karpuram" as "gold"—Karpuram = "Pon"(Pin)

(Tamil Lexicon - Vol. II - Part I p. 738)

56 P.I. 518

57 P.I. 523

58 P.I. 524

59 P.I. 699

60 P.I. 842
61 A distinction seems to have been made between Navidan (barber) and Ambattan (one who was doing surgery).
62 P.I. 80, 90, 92.
63 P.I. 128
64 P.I. 90 lines 11 & 12
65 P.I. 85
66 P.I. 137
67 P.I. 330
68 P.I. 247
69 P.I. 81
70 P.I. 190
71 P.I. 302
72 P.I. 472
73 P.I. 326
74 P.I. 288; also South Indian Inscriptions Vol. XXIII No. 160
75 P.I. 834
76 P.I. 423
77 P.I. 386
78 P.I. 388
79 P.I. 392
80 P.I. 422
81 P.I. 508
82 P.I. 509
83 P.I. 89
84 P.I. 90
85 P.I. 92
86 P.I. 359
87 P.I. 490; Also S.I.I. XXIII, No. 150
88 P.I. 475
89 P.I. 486
90 P.I. 560, 561
91 P.I. 30
92 P.I. 327
93 P.I. 383, 384, 449 541.
94 P.I. 479 for example. Tne term 'Ningada' has also been rendered in medieval glosses to mean 'indestructable' or 'inex-

tinguishable' (alivillada) see Idu on Tiruppavai (v.3). Also the prefatory verses of Kamban 'Nikkalum Ningala'.

"Exclusion" denotes a reduction from the extent of the grant but the term 'ningada' correctly rendered as 'inextinguishable' con-alos veys a qualitative and not a mere quantitative distinction. It brings out the subsisting character of the then existing obligations or otherwise. Vide also S.I.I. Vol. XXIII, No. 164; p. 132.

"Nayanar Nagesvaramudaiyarukku
Iraiyili Devadanamahavum *Ivarukku*
Kudiningad devadanamahavum Virru".

The vendee was Tirupperundurai Pillai, a Matha Chief of the temple. (Koil Madapatyam)

95 P.I. 423
96 P.I. 345, 624.
97 P.I. see annexure to the Study on Irrigation for illustration.
98 P.I. 345
99 P.I. 345
100 P.I. 423
101 P.I. 349
102 P.I. 403
103 P.I. 412
104 P.I. 624
105 P.I. 482
106 P.I. 351
107 P.I. 819
108 P.I. 853
109 P.I. 894
110 P.I. 266
111 P.I. 311

Grant of "Iraiyili" Karankilamai similar to that in PI 311 to the Temple (P.I. 251) and another to a Matha both at Neivasal (P.I. 303) were made by Kangeyan. In the latter case the matha was already in enjoyment of the lands, and were paying the taxes (accuvari) in cash which were remitted.

112 P.I. 321
113 P.I. 332
114 P.I. 376

115 P.I. 393
116 P.I. 395; Also P.I. 453
117 P.I. 408
118 P.I. 409
119 P.I. 504
120 P.I. 517
121 P.I. 650

It could *also* be interpreted as : " excluding Karanmai in one half, in the other, Kadamai (an assessment on crop and as perscale) at 3 kalams 1 tuni 1 padakku of paddy per ma and Karanmai in that half were endowed for food-offerings to Tirumangeni-svaramudayar".

122 P.I. 666
123 P.I. 746
124 P,I. 981
125 P.I. 1020
126 P.I. 184
127 P.I. 287
128 P.I. 343
129 P.I. 421
130 P.I. 424
131 P.I. 447
132 P.I. 351
133 P.I. 492
134 P.I. 590
135 P.I. 197
136 P.I. 367. The term 'Tirappu' in the sense of "resumed land of the State" is still in vogue in Revenue terminology.
137 P.I. 415
138 P.I. 384
139 South Indian Inscription Vol XXIII No. 134
140 P.I. 99
141 Confer S.I.I. XIV-No 164. Also T.A.S. Vol IV Pl II p. 129
142 P.I. 190
143 P.I. 272
144 P I. 375
145 P.I. 601
146 P.I. 581 (damaged)
147 P.I. 733
148 P.I. 737
149 P.I. 433

PADIKKAVAL-OR WATCH AND WARD IN TOWNSHIPS-ITS OBLIGATIONS AND RIGHTS

This study has gathered the data on Pāḍikkāval available in Pudukkottai inscriptions. The inscriptions from the three Taluks of the erstwhile State/Division can be grouped as under:

	Cōḻa	*Pāṇḍya*	*Vijayanagar & after.*
Kulattur Taluk	1	4	5
Alangudi Taluk	—	1	3
Tirumeyyam Taluk	—	5	9

The evidence from Alangudi tract was the least because of its arid conditions, and it was the largest in volume from Tirumeyyam Taluk where there were a large number of settlements of Nagara and Ūr types, besides a few Brahmadēya villages. The largest volume of evidence also pertains to Vijayanagar Times. The inscriptions revealed in progressively greater detail the rights and obligations of Pāḍikkāval and their formulation also became the more elaborate and specific.

The data are presented, talukwise, to bring out local homogeneity, though the taluks had comprised of several geopolitical divisions in the dynastic periods under study, some of them even undergoing several changes.

Kulattur Taluk

The earliest inscription was of the 27th year of Cōḻa Rājarāja I. The Ūrār of Tēnvavumthōvūr (Themmāvūr) undertook to do the watch and ward functions in Ērikumbakkuḍi, Mēlālakkuḍi, the hamlets of Cōḻamādēvi village in Mīkoḻināḍu, which were the Dēvadāna villages of Vaḍakayilāsamuḍayār of the village.[1] The Ūrār also undertook to deliver as immutable demand (*viḍākka ḷamai* 60 *kalams* of paddy. The document had, perhaps, intended to convey

a penalty by way of land (to be delivered to the Temple?) if anyone in the village caused any wrong or lapse in the watch and ward but it was left incomplete.

In the 4th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya the Ūrār of Pulvayal in Vayalaganāḍu had agreed that the *Pāḍikkāval* proceeds from Rājarājappaṟṟu (a part of the ayacut in the village) might be appropriated for excavating the drinking water source, Umayāṇḍi Ēri.[2] The *Pāḍikkāval* dues were thus one of the sources of revenue for the Ūr, and could be assigned or appropriated for public utilities or works and their maintenance.

In the 6th year of Māṟavarman Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya (*Emmaṇḍalamum Koṇḍaruḷiya*) A. D. 1317, the Nāṭṭār of Iraṇḍukarainādu in Kōnāḍu gave a deed to the Kuḷamangalattu Araiyar of Panaiyūr that they shall bear the "Nāṭṭu Arasu" title, and get 5 *kalams* of paddy, and have some privileges in the temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai. The duties of the Araiyars were not specified, but apparently they had the watch and ward duties over the temple and its properties.[3]

In the 14th year of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya the Ūrār of Puliyūr had agreed to make over 70 *kalams* per year from the Māṇikkanallūr lands which they were enjoying from their ancestors for *Paḍikkāval* rights. Some police functions were apparently intended, that they could receive the complaints, and if any quarrelled within the village (they could enquire into them.) but the inscription is incomplete.[4]

Sometimes, the Ūrār and the temple authorities of one township sought the help and protection of another township, on payment of the stipulated paddy in return, for services such as closing the breaches of a tank or providing a surplus course. The Tiruvēngaivāsal Ūrār and the Thānathār made such an arrangement with Irumbāḻi Ūrār in Ānanda year in Kampaṇa Uḍaiyār's time. This could be either because the repair works were beyond the competence or because the work needed the help and participation of the adjoining township.[5] In A. D. 1391 the Nāṭṭar of Vaḍakōnāḍu gave a deed conferring "Arasu sutandiram" on Arasu Taniānaiyūrān *alias* Narasingadēvar of Pērāmbūr. His duties were to protect the Nāḍu from any intrusion (*Nāṭṭil Suṟṟil Eṟṟa Uḷḷiṭṭam Vārāmal*) and protect its integrity. In return he was to receive from

every village in the Nāḍu paddy at 1 *kalam* per mā and in the main township 1 *mā* of land taxfree (*Iṛaiyili*), the Nāṭṭar bearing the land-dues in common. The rates at which he was to be paid from the yielded crop were specified:

Āḍi Kuṛuvai (Paddy): 1 *Tūṇi*, 1 *Padakku* per *mā*

Varagu, Rāgi, Tinai (millets): 1 *Tūṇi*, 1 *Padakku* per *mā*

For dry lands-per plough: 1 *Tūṇi*, 1 *Padakku* of grain

Tax per tenant taking residence from outside the village: 1 *paṇam* per kuḍi

The representatives of the townships comprised in the Nāḍu signed the deed.[6]

In A.D., 1437, Udayan Arangapperumāḷ *alias* Dēvarāya Vijayālaya Muttarayan sought the help of the several Nāṭṭārs and Ūrārs listed below as he fell out with his brother (*Aṇṇāvi*) Pōttarasar Sāmantanār. The Ūrār of Kīranūr, Paḍaipaṛṛu (garrison-township) Mēlaipuduvayal Ūrār, Kiḻaipuduvayal Ūrār and the *Paḍaipaṛṛus* surrounding these townships in Uṛattūr Kūṛṛam. In return, the Chieftain had made some endowments to Uttamadānēsvara muḍaiyār temple in Kīranūr.[7] The Nāḍus and the Ūrs gave asylum to him, and extended protection to his property and life. This was a case of an individual seeking refuge with the townships and the garrison-townships and was the obverse of the *Pāḍikkāval*. It was termed "Asiriyapramāṇam" or a deed of refuge (*Āsraya*-Skt.).

The latest record from Kīranūr taluk was of A. D. 1799. The Rāja of Pudukkōṭṭai, Vijayaraghunāda rāyapādar Toṇḍaimān made over the proceeds of *Pāḍikkāval* from several villages, among other endowments, to the Tambirān of Dharamapuri Maṭha for special services in the temple of Thayumānavasvāmi at Tiruccirāppaḷḷi. Among them, the *Pāḍikkāval* dues from the following villages were also assigned:

Iḍaiyappattu Gōmangalam (paṇam not specified)

Vaḍamuka Māttūr	—	16 *pon*
Nāgamangalam	—	7 *pon.*
Kōṭṭaipattu	—	6 *pon.*
Mēlkuḍi	—	7 *pon.*
Piḍankupaṭṭi	—	82 *paṇam*

Ādampaṭṭi	—	35 *paṇam*
Pottappaṭṭu	—	42 *paṇam*

This record showed that the *Pāḍikkāval* dues continued to be levied right till the 18th century end. The Rāja of Pudukkottai, had apparently these *pāḍikkāval* rights vested with him. It was also assignable by those entitled to the levy, and in this instance, the proceeds were appropriated for the special services in Tiruccirāppaḷḷi temple.[8]

Alangudi Taluk

The evidence from Ālanguḍi Taluk, as noted above, is scanty on account of the inhospitable conditions of the tract, and the late colonisation, comparatively. There, again, both types of entrustment of watch and ward, and seeking asylum were evidenced.

The earliest instance was of the 29th year of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya-an Āsiriyapramāṇam. The Perungaḷūr Ūrār extended protection to two Arayars of Vaṭṭaṇḍār Kōṭṭai in Tenmalaināḍu in return for a stipulated quantity of paddy, which the Ūrār could secure, if defaulted, by obstructing and hindering the protected Arayars.[9] Similar Āsiriyapramāṇam were executed in A.D. 1406 by Vārāppūr Arayar Muttayyan Varāppūr Nāḍāḻvān to the Ūrār of Perungoḷiyūr[10] (Perungaḷūr) and by Vāccān Sēnappiḷḷai of Munnattūr.[11] In such instances they endowed lands or proceeds therefrom for temple services in the village where they sought asylum. In the latter case the Arayar also gave his own *Pāḍikkāval* Svatantram rights also to the Ūrār. The wheel had come full circle. The Arayars found their places of safety or asylum in the less frequented and dry tracts and sought the help of the Ūrārs.

The last instance was of the Vibhava year. The Ūrār of Irumbāḻi, Anjunilai, and Marudāṇḍanilai, and Vaḍamayilāppūr gave a deed to the Tiruvarangulam temple that no harm shall befall them (at the hands of (?), by the vigilance of Vallanāḍu Nāṭṭār) *Vallanāṭṭu Nāṭṭavarāl oru pollāppara Kāttunōkki pōdakka ḷavadākavum*") In return the Ūrārs were to deliver 40 *kalams* of paddy per year in one instalment to the temple. The wording of the inscription would appear to suggest that it was an appeasement of the Vallanāḍu Nāṭṭār (against apprehended wrong) and the payment, though made to the temple, was a case of forced benefaction[12]

Tirumeyyam Taluk

The available evidence is the largest from Tirumeyyam tract. Settlements here were larger, some of them hoary, and many in the southern portion of the tract prosperous, and populated by the merchant community. Where wealth was present, security was more sought after, and the instances show such arrangements made both with community-organisations and with individuals.

In the 45th year of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (Circa A.D. 1340?) the Sabhayār of Tirumeyyam sold their *Pāḍikkāval* rights in certain specified ayacuts to a Valayar, Mūvankāḍappiḷḷai of the Paḍaippaṟṟu (garrison-township of Mēlai Kuruṇḍaṇparai) for 200 *kuḷigai paṇam* of Vāḷāḷ Vaḻi Tirandān. The area for the watch and ward and from which the *Pāḍikkāval* levy was to be collected were specified and had comprised three wet ayacuts and the occupied dry lands. The rates of annual levy were:

WET		
For Pisānam -		
Āḍi, Aipasi Kuruvai on yielding lands per 1 *mā*	=	1 *kalam* and odd.
Tinai, varagu on yielding lands.	=	2 *tūṇi* grain
Gingeley „ „	=	1 *padakku*
For coconut, betel vine etc. „	=	as prevalent in adjoining villages.
For sugarcane	=	10 cakes (*kaṭṭi*) per day for each gur-manufacturing unit (*Ālai*)
Pāsipāṭṭam	=	share as in other villages.
DRY		
Per plough	-	*Tūṇi, padakku* grain

The Valayan was to extend protection to the Sabhayār and the defined ayacut lands were to be guarded.[13] The rates specified above were also to apply to the Dēvadānam and Dharmadāna and Tiruviḍayāṭṭam (temple and charitable endowments) lands within the

township from which the Sabhā had been collecting a favourable (or token ?) assessment (*Paccai*).

Two years later,[14] the Ūrār of Mēlūr sold their *Pāḍikkāval* rights to one Aḻagapperumal of Sūraikkuḍi. (Perhaps one of the scions of Sūraikkuḍi chieftains who were to become more prominent later) for 550 *paṇam*.

The rates of levy from the cultivated lands payable to the vendee were:

Pisānam: Āḍi, Aipasi, Kuṛuvai) Kōḍaikuṛuvai)	12 *marakkāls* of paddy
Tinai, varagu	2 *tūṇi* grain
Gingeley	*Padakku*
Sugarcane	10 cakes per day for each gur manufacturing unit (*Ālai*).
DRY: Per plough =	*tūṇi* grain.

Sūraikkuḍi Aḷagapperumāḷ was to ensure unremitting care in watch and ward (*Kāval Soṟṟi Yaṟakkāttu*). The terms of levy were similar to those in Tirumeyyam.

In the 40th year of Vira Pāṇḍya the temple authorities of Neivāsal made a deed of *Mēlpāḍikkāval* sold to Sūraikkuḍi Avaiyan Periyān *alias* Toṇḍaimānār for 12 *paṇam* which the temple had borrowed to pay off an earlier loan. In return they agreed to give 12 *kalams*, in 2 instalments of 3/4, and 1/4; lower yields due to water scarcity or floods or destruction by garrisons were to be allowed for. The duties for Toṇḍaimānār were '(i) to protect the temple gate and premises and endowed ayacuts. If any loss occurred therein, he shall investigate and make good the loss. The vendee was also conferred some temple honours.[15]

The term *Mēlpāḍikkāval* might suggest the supervisory functions Toṇḍaimānār had or that the security arrangements were to be made under his aegis. The arrangements were apparently satisfactory for some time. After the death of Vijayālayadēvan of Sūraikkuḍi, finding themselves unable to remit the *Kaḍamai*, *Kāṇikkai* due to the chieftain Māvalivāṇādarayan, the Ūrār of Neivāsaḷ (Nelvāsal) sold their *Pāḍikkāval* rights for 200 *paṇam* again in A.D. 1483 to some new persons:[16]

Eppōdumaḍiyān *alias* Pāṇḍavadūtapparaiyan,
a Marava of Vēlanguḍi, and
Alagan of Neṭṭūr and a few others.

The privileges the vendees were to enjoy were:
Per mā: 15 *kalams* for wet,
For wet: 2 *tūṇi*, *Kuruṇi* and Dry *Padakku* ... *kuruṇi*.

The community levies for Āḍi and Kārtikai (August and November) were on the same scale as in the Karaiyāṇ sale noted below.

In A.D. 1331-32 the Ūrār of Ādanūr sought the help of the Ūrār of Rājasingamangalam (Rangiyām). They recalled that the latter Ūrār had extended their protection during the insecure conditions following the Muslim incursions and saw to it that the watch and ward were kept, and others did not dishonour the womanhood (*Ivviḍangaḷil Silai nārum koḷḷāmal parikarittu*) and got released the cattle and sheep lifted by Sevalūr people and had them restored to the Ādanūr Ūrār, and so long as they resided therein their livelihood was ensured unimpaired (*Ingu Irukkumaḷavum Sōrum Pākkum Ārāyindu Engaḷai Parikarittuppōnda paḍiyāle.*) In order that the Ūrār of Rājasingamangalam might further continue to afford such protection the Ādanūr Ūrār agreed to deliver 15 *kalams* of paddy per year in two instalments of 6/10 and 4/10. The duties enjoined, in return, were: they shall investigate into and restore the stolen properties in Ponnamarāvatināḍu and also investigate into the properties taken away by force, and restore them, and extend protection.[17]

In this case, apparently, the Ūrār of Ādanūr were weak and could not protect themselves and hence sought the help and protection of Rājasingamangalam. But even this arrangement was not satisfactory. For, again, in the 47th year of Māṛavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1380?) the Ūrār of Ādanūr sold their Pāḍikkāval rights in specified ayacuts for 300 *Kuḷigai paṇam* to the Sūraikkuḍi Chieftain, Araiyan Periyanāyanar *alias* Vijayālaya Thēvar in the following circumstances.[18] Because of the confusion caused by Muslim incursions (*Tulukkar Kalagamāi*) the Township got ruined. The residents faced bad times and languished and they had no other solace. Finding no remedy to protect them, the Ūrār sold the *Pāḍikkāval* bond (*Kaṭṭu*) for 300 *Kuḷigai paṇam* to the Sūraikkūḍi Chieftain. The annual rates of levy agreed were:

Wet: Per Taḍi - 1 bundle (or headload) of paddy sheave.
For Ragi, Tinai
Per Taḍi = 2 *Marakkāl*
Gingeley = 4 *Nāḻis*
Sugarcane -Per Taḍi = 20 *palam* gur

The levy would extend to Turmeric, Ginger, Karuṇai and Betel, and the fisheries in the tank; also to coconut, jackfruit, plantain and mangoes.

For Dry Lands

For Varagu, Samai on yielded lands = 1 head-load
Gingeley on dry lands = 4 *Nāḻis* (same as for wet)
Horsegram - = Kuruṇi Horsegram
Cotton-yielding dry lands: per punjey (unit of dry)
10 cotton tufts or stalks.

The ayacuts were also defined.

Two bunches of records presented the *Pāḍikkāval* arrangements made from time to time by the townships of Rājasingamangalam and Kāraiyūr. In the reign of Sundara Pāṇḍya the Ūrār registered that they had the *Pāḍikkāval* responsibility in the merchant township of Kulasēkharapuram in Kalvāyilnāḍu. The Ūrār undertook to the Nagaram that none among themselves shall (cause) thefts and they shall prevent any deterioration in the security conditions in the township. If anyone in the meanwhile caused insecurity to the Nagara or caused night thefts or lifted cattle or calves not only shall the lost property be restored to the Nagarattār but the culprit's holding shall be confiscated to the temple of Rājasingamangalam; besides a penalty of 500[19] *paṇam* shall be collected from the culprits.

In A. D. 1465 the Mēlūr Ūrār in Vṛdarāja Bhayankara Vaḷanāḍu sought the assistance of the Ūrār of Rājasingamangalam in very distressing circumstances. There were no rains, and famine stalked the land, and conditions were insecure. Hence they sold their *Pāḍikkāvl* rights for *Sarkkarapaṇam* 500, and also agreed to deliver to Rāngiyam temple, per year, as a lease, 28 *kalams* of paddy and agreed to the same share as prevailing in adjoining villages in the miscellaneous revenues like fisheries and trees. The vendees could gift away their rights and sell them.[20]

In A.D. 1460 the Ūrār of Ponnamarāvati were at loggerheads with the Ūrār of Thuvār who caused destruction, pillage, and killings and were threatening further to cause such acts of arson and loot. The aggrieved Ūrār, apparently finding themselves inadequate to meet the challenge by themselves, entered into a *Pāḍikkāval* arrangement with the Nāṭṭar of Sevvalur, Melānilai, Kāvanūr, Kuḷippirai, Sembūdi Madiyāṇi, Tēnūr, Arasamīkāmanilai, assembling them all at Tiruppūvaḻaikkuḍi, and sought their help in destroying their enemies, the residents of thūvār, and assistance to averge their discomfuture. They had no objection to do so and to extend their help. In return a land for services in Pūvāḻaikkuḍi temple was endowed and the Ponnamarāvati Ūrār agreed to deliver for wet lands per *mā* 12 sheaves, padakku paddy, and for dry lands per plough tūṇi grain per year, besides appropriate shares in fisheries and the customary levies or perquisites for Āḍi and Kārtigai.[21] The Tennanguḍi Ūrār made similar arrangements in Acyuta Rāyar's time.[22]

The second set of records were from Kāraiyūr. In S. 1354 (A.D. 1432)[23] Tirucciráppaḷḷi Uḍaiyār *alias* Kāraiyūr Vēḷān sold the *Pāḍikkāval* rights in Kāraiyūr for *Sakkarapaṇam* 30 to Sēma and others; Kōḍikkumīṇḍār, and others of Kōṭṭaikuḍi in Kōṭṭai-nāḍu.

The vendees were to receive
1 (*Kaṭṭu*) bundle per sey in Kārayūr ayacut
1 paṇam each for Āḍi, and Kārtigai[23]

In A. D. 1476,[24] (some fortyfour years later) Kiḻavāṇḍār *alias* Kāraiyūr vēḷār sold to Kāngēyar Piravikkunallār *alias* Arasukaṇḍa-dēvar of Vayalūr in Rājagambhīra Vaḷanāḍu *Pāḍikkāval* rights in the holdings of the former in Kāraiyūr, Veḷḷakkuḍi, Navaṛkuḍi, Kūḍalūr Pulavanavaṛkuḍi, Iḍaiyāṛṛūr and Nelvēli in which he had 1/2 share and 1/5 share in Ollaiyūrmangalam. Besides the annual levies specified below, he gave 4 *ma* with a weḷḷ therein, and some additional fields, in all, making 4 *mā* and 1 well for a sale price of 400 *sakrapaṇam.* The rights of the vendees were:

Per mā = 12 ari (sheaves) *padakku* paddy. Besides the vendee was to receive temple privileges and a share in fisheries. The communities were to deliver,

Valayar – for Āḍi and Kārtigai one cage or basket of

	rabbits for each festive month
Shepherds -	Milk and ghee
Parayan -	for Ādi and Kārtigai 2 hen for each festive month
Pallar -	for Ādi and Kārtigai 2 hen for each festive month.

He would also receive special privileges and honours the import of which were not clear - Pāvādai Semmayir, Adakkam, Nādakasālai Pagalviḷakku (to hold torches even during daytime) Ēraccangu, Irangaccangu (the blowing of conches while ascending and descending horses or palanquin?). He was also given titles: *Angakaḻari, Pulitaṇḍai, Sembagarāman, Valuccugandai, Taḻavuseyyādān, Karpakavirāman, Verraraisarmīkāman.* The taxes due to the king on the lands were to be paid (by the Ūrār); two house-sites were also allotted to him.

In A.D. 1518 the Kārayūr Ūrār had no means to pay the royal demand of the Nayak Governors (Ilakkattukku). They hence sold the *Pāḍikkāvāl* rights to one Adanamaḻagiyān for 110 *Paṇam,* and he was given the title of "Kārayūr Parayan". The privileges extended to him were similar to those listed in the sale of A.D. 1476.[25]

A sum up

Pāḍikkāval rights had been a part of the community-responsibilities of the Ūrār, or the Sabhayār (as in Tirumeyyam) or other types of township organisation. These were the watch and ward functions discharged through the village police staff, to afford protection to the residents, their life and property and cattle and safeguarding the fields surrounding the village, especially in the cultivation season, besides the temple premises and its possessions.

In return, the Ūrār had a share of the produce collectable from the yielding crops at harvest times. Specific parcels of lands were also allocated in some cases. The rights were vendible and transferable and the proceeds were assignable for any puplic purpose, such as a service in the temple, or for repairs to tanks. Sale of such rights by one township to another, seeking the latter's help were also evidenced.

Towards the end of the 13th century, with the weakening of the Pāṇḍyan rule, the townships were experiencing great strain in ensuring

security and maintaining the watch and ward by themselves. Individuals either from a garrison township (*paḍaipaṟṟu*) or powerful men in the locality (as in Sūraikkuḍi appeared on the scene). They proffered to do the service or else some of them might themselves be the creators of mischief, and a source of potential danger to the community. They could even be watchmen by day and looters at night. The township organisations, either out of necessity or out of compulsion had to transfer or sell the *Pāḍikkāval* rights to such individuals. There was attraction for them as they secured a source of annual levy of paddy or other grain collectable from the area of *pāḍikkāval*, and sometimes even parcels of land. The ūrār, too, had apparently reasons to be relieved, lest the very men should vex them.

In course of time the privileges and police fee extended to levies from all sections of the resident-community. The individuals gradually increased their authority, and being men of muscle, discharging police functions, with the admitted control over bad and anti-social characters, whom they could check or utilise, these powerful individuals elevated themselves to the status of Chieftains, Arasu of the locality. Titles and temple honours and social privileges were conferred or taken in the process. The *quid pro quo* of a fee for watch and ward service became glorified into "Arasu svantram", or the liberties of the chieftain.

The need for security became the more compelling as the Muslim invasions in the first half of the 14th century aggravated the disturbed conditions. The internecine feuds among Arayars also left the townships the hapless victims of their strife and plunder. The need for security arrangement was felt naturally the more by the resident-merchant-townships (Nagarattār) as their stakes were higher, particularly in the Southern and South Western parts of Tirumeyyam Taluk.

There were also instances when individuals could not guarantee their own security and there were differential capabilities of the ūrārs. Under such contingencies, the weaker townships like Ādanūr and Mēlūr sought the services and protection of stronger townships like Rājasingamangalam. In the process, the *Pāḍikkāval* rights of individuals at least in one case curiously got transferred again to the Ūrār,[26] but this was exceptional. The pattern was one of individuals acqui-

ring through purchase the *Pāḍikkāval* rights, and with them some land.

During the Vijayanagar times a number of *Pāḍikkāval* sales were evidenced, partly due to the inability of the townships to pay up the revenue demand of the Nāyak governors. The *Pāḍikkāval* sale became a source of raising capital funds to pay off the revenue demand.

But the value of a *Pāḍikkāval* purchase was more in what it could become than in what it was. Progressive accretions to privileges granted or assumed, resulted towards the end of the survey-period, in a levy in kind on almost every section of the resident-communities. Even more prized was the enhanced status and the hold it conferred on the individuals over the village and the community. The honours and conspicuous titles were only forms of community recognition of that authority, that could be gained depending only on one's own capabilities of muscle and command. As late as in A.D. 1799 the *Pāḍikkāval* rights had been assigned by the Ruler of Pudukkottai for Pūja service. It could testify to the humble nucleus of the police functions purchased or assumed or vested that embedded itself into the sovereignty of the State over a period of history.

A second category of cases constituted the very obverse of *Pāḍikkāval*. These were declarations of (seeking) asylum - Asiriyapramāṇam. They were entrustment of the personal security and of their property by individuals, who had the power to make enemies. Often the Arayars sought the help and protection of the townships, or the Nāṭṭār or several of them together, in their feuds, and in return they made over lands or gave endowments from their personal holdings to the temple in the township or the Nāḍu affording protection.[27]

Thus, wherever the selfprotecting capacity of both the Arayars and of the townships had varied and when property and life were at stake - and they could be very often - security and protection were sought either from more powerful individuals or units of townships who could discharge such obligations. The functions were not only preventive or protective but extended to investigation of thefts, and crime and forcible seizures (of cattle) and lost property had to be made good by the *Pāḍikkāval* holders. Some of the transactions at least had built in penalties should vexation be found to have been

caused by the very constituents who had taken on these obligations. At worst, the arrangement had the negative virtue of holding the miscreant elements appeased or restrained. This was, by no means, to be cavilled at when the times were troubled, and authority was lax.

In the study on the growing burden of land-dues two factors were discerned as contributing to the progressive decline of the township organisations, the Ūr and the Nagaram. (1) The gradual emergence of the Nāḍu or a group of villages into greater focus, and (2) the growth of Chieftains or individuals with assigned areas of land-demand. This tendency noticed even as early as in later Pāṇḍyan times was the more pronounced in Vijayanagar times and after.

The Ūrārs assigning or selling their police functions to individuals and chieftains had commenced even earlier. But in the three centuries A.D. 1400 to 1600 this had alongside the changing trends in revenue organisation, gained momentum. Hence the larger number of transactions noticed in the Vijayanagar period.

Together the two trends had only led to the thinning out of the functional content of the townships, and their efficacy, as a unit of revenue and police organisation, had progressively diminished.

The assumption of police responsibilities by individuals gave them a hold over the township community, and led in some cases to the appropriation of the revenue authority in the tract.[28] With the build-up of status, honour and privilege some who were *Pāḍikkāval* holders in inception, became petty governors or chieftains (Arasu, Nāyakkattanam). They were one strand of persons who eventually went into the making of the zamindars, or under-tenure holders.

The build up of authority from police functions to the status of the Chieftain and its dismantling had occurred almost on parallel lines. When the British administration was in the making, they took away the police functions from the zamindars first, reserved them to the government, and restored the policing of the village territory to the Talayaris who were to work under the control of the Collectors. This automatically deflated the zamindars to the position of inter mediaries farmers of revenue and Rentiers and some plumage of thier status as 'rulers' or chieftains with which they had decorated themselves had to be shed. It was not, perhaps, an accident that the sanctions for policing, the earliest to be acquired by them, were also what they were deprived of the earliest.[29]

FOOT NOTES

1 P.I. 197 - The Temple is now dilapidated.
2 P.I. 478
3 P.I. 565
4 P.I. 598
5 P.I. 681
6 P.I. 687
7 P.I. 704
8 P.I. 763
9 P.I. 615
10 P.I. 693
11 P.I. 696
12 P.I. 898
13 P.I. 439
14 P.I. 440
15 P.I. 452
16 P.I. 821
17 P.I. 669
18 P.I. 454
19 P.I. 491
20 P.I. 801
21 P.I. 799
22 P.I. 751
23 P.I. 703
24 P.I. 715
25 P.I. 843
26 P.I. 696
27 The Pudukkottai Manual (Vol.II part 1, p. 738) states "The Araiyan or person who received the padikkaval rights executed a deed called Asiriyapramanam promising to protect the people". This appears to require revision. They were not complimentary transaction but the two were of different kinds.
28 There is an old Tamil proverb. "He who took up the baton became the revenue authority", "Tadi eduttavan Tandalkaran".
29 p.p. 275-278 - *Some influences*: Shri M. Ruthnaswami.



CASES, CIVIL AND CRIMINAL AND THEIR COMPOSITION BY THE COMMUNITY

In his "Hindu Judicial Systems" (1946), Justice S. Varadachariar has observed "Of the nature of judicial records or the details of the judicial procedure we learn very little form the inscription"[1]. This might, perhaps, have reflected the state of revealed knowledge at the time, what with the limited volume of published inscriptions. The availability of epigraphic source material containing data, full of evidentiary value, on the subject however, cannot be gainsaid. This study, in some measure, seeks to supply the felt want, and endeavours to dispel the impression conveyed in the above extract.

This study presents the material available in the Pudukottai inscriptions on the preventive and punitive aspects of cases, criminal and civil, the agencies for and the manner of investigating such cases, and the modes of composing or resolving those disputes. The time-spread of the study is from the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya times right up to the Toṇḍaimān rule of that tract. Distinct periods and particular localities have contributed a far larger quantum of evidence than others within the tract, and this available richness of data will, naturally, be reflected in the presentation.

A few terms occurring in the inscriptions are quaint or obsolete, the full or exact import of which is not clear. The interpretation offered of such terms is only in the nature of a contextual hypothesis and is tentative.

The subject can be analysed under the following heads :

I Criminal Types

(1) Political feuds and the compacts through which they were resolved. A large number of cases pertain to this category.

(2) Protective and preventive covenants, entered into individually or collectively for providing security arrangements.

(3) Village disputes.

(4) Criminal cases

II Social Disputes

III Civil Cases

(1) Temple disputes
(2) Civil disputes
(3) Workmen's compensation, and blood-grants
(4) Revenue defaults, and recovery action.

I CRIMINAL CASES

(1) *Political feuds*: The earliest record was of the 13th year of Cōḷa Rājādhirāja (A. D. 1031) from Tennangudi. There was a feud and animosity (Pagaikoṇḍu Eikayil) between the Arayars (Chieftains) of Kōraikkuricci and Puttāmbūr in Kuḷamangalam Nāḍu which was settled by the intervention of the Nāṭṭār (Nāḍāga Virundu), of Jayasinga Kulakāla Vaḷanāḍu of which Kuḷamangalam was a constituent nāḍu. To mark this settlement the covenanting Arayars endowed a lamp service in the temple of Tenganāyakar of Tencūhangudi village.[2]

The Arayars (Chieftains) of Tiruvaranguḷam were constantly at loggerheads among themselves. Four or five instances could be recounted. Of these four seem to belong to the Pāṇḍya period[3] and one to Vīra Bhūpati's time, perhaps in Vijayanagara period. These are described below.

In the 29th year of Māṛavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, Sūriyan Toṇḍaimān, his sons, nephews, Sōḷiyar Ulagamāṇikkappēraraiyan, and his sons, Vāḻvan Vīrayadē(va)n, son of Pāṇittevar Iḷattaraiyan, Vāḷvan Iḷattaraiyan, and his son Mekkan gave a deed to the Ūrār of Tiruvaranguḷam and the temple authorities to this effect; Aḍiyārkunallān Tuṇḍarayār was stabbed by Suṇḍan Narasingadēvan. On account of this feud, Inban Ulagamāṇikkapparayan Pāṇidēvan Īḻattaraiyar and Vāḻvan Īḻattaraiyan stabbed Suṇḍan Narasinga Thēvan. Sōḻan Ulagamāṇikkappallavaraiyan, Toṇḍaimānār, his sons and nephews Sōḻakkōn Aranguḻattān Puttan, Cōḻan Aranguḻavanāṭṭaraiyan and Uyyāṇḍan all settled accounts and resolved the feud (Pagai orunga) and declared that they shall no more harbour any enmity against one another. They also resolved that any good or bad effects of the enmity, befalling either of the two parties shall be deemed to have befallen both, and be borne accordingly by all. They inscribed this agreement on the hill of Tiruvaranguḷam[4].

Again, in the 35th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya the same parties, resolved that they shall not nourish their enmity. The signatories were : Pūvarasakuḻi Arayan Aranguḻavan Īḻattaraiyan, Ulgamāṇikkapparayan, Māvalivāṇādaraiyan, Inban Angaraiyan and Nambikuḻi Arayar.........Malai Periyān. The document was fragmentary.[5]

The third covenant was between the Mangalattaraiyars of the garrison-township (Paḍaippaṟṟu) of Kārainādu.........Sivalōkamuḍaiyān Teṟkilaraiyan and his brother.........Āyilarāyan and some of the Arayars of Pudukkōṭṭai, Piḻḻān Aḻagiya Cōḻāṇḍāḻvān, Inban's son Aḍaikkalavan. There was enmity between their parents, and they resolved to end this family feud by amicably bringing about harmony among themselves for all time (Engaḷil Porunda Candirādittaval). They shall act together, both the parties jointly standing together fully in harmony as one people at the village common (ambalam) and proceed therefrom in a garrison and act under one head (Iraṇḍu Tiṟattārun Kūḍaninṟu.........Porundi Iruttamakkaḻāy Ambalattilirundu oru talaiyilē Paḍai senṟu vinaiyir Naḍattippōduvōmāhavum)[6]

This covenant was important as it imposed a penalty. If anyone killed or stabbed, or caused any mischief, harm or injury, or damage by talebearing, (Vinai kuṟaḷai seydāl), the offender shall deliver 5 *mā* of land to the temple, and 11,000 paṇam for the damage as penalty.[7]

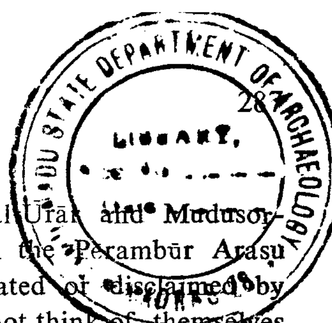
A similar covenant was entered into by Angaraiyan's brother Irākuttan, Teṟkil-Arayan, his nephews, Inban Āriyaccakravarti, and Aḍiyāṟkunallān Angarayan, his son and nephews. The said Irākuttan seemed to have suffered a great deal (Paṭṭapāṭṭukku). The document is incomplete and damaged.[8]

The fifth record, from Tiruvaranguḷam, again, is damaged and disarranged and could be ascribed to the Vijayanagar period, recording a similar composition of the feud among the Arayars.[9]

Three records of the Vijayanagar period give fuller details of similar feuds among the Arayars (Chieftains). The first from Kōvilūr was of the Dunmati year in Vīra Sāyana's reign. Sivalōkamuḍaiyār Terkilarayan, Āyiravan alias Āyilyarāyan, his son Mudali of the cantonment Singamangalam (paḍaippaṟṟu) in Kavinādu (of Ēttakkaraikaṇḍa Cōḻanallūr, Kaḷḷappār Kaṟkuricci of Jayasingakulakāla vaḷanāḍu) and among the Arayars of Rājarājavaḷanāḍu Sengāṭṭu nāḍu Vaḍakkilarayan's sons, Dēvan and Sāndan ended their

feud and recorded the settlement. Earlier, Vadakkilaraiyan had killed Terkilaraiyan's brother-in-law Sirayamvali which was avenged by Vadakkilaraiyan being killed by Terkilarayan (Silavittu). Then the Vadakkilaraiyan party went in a gang, and killed Agambadi Kannan and Parai-Ccēndan. As a retaliation, Malavarāyan Arayan and his brother Inban Paraiyudappan were killed midway or in current vengeance Nadaipali. Thus the killings were all finally avenged (Arudi-ittu). They thereafter agreed among themselves, their children, their nephews and their relatives and the tenants of both sides, that they shall not harbour mutual enmity and do acts of mischief or foulplay or hypocrisy (Vinai kuralai sundāyam nadattakkadavōrallarāhavum). If either party transgressed this agreement, his lands, wet and dry, and appurtenants shall be endowed by the parties themselves to the temple of Kulandaināyanār. He who caused hindrance shall also pay the State dues on the land so transferred to the temple. He who was caught in the main street junction (Perunsandir Pidippattavan) shall pay a fine to the Māhesvaras besides 1000 panams as penalty to the Tirukkūttam or the holy assemblage. (Annūrruppalattār Tirūmēniyum Tiranda māhēsvararukku padiyumittu tirukkūttavalikku āyiram panamum tendamum kuduttu).[10]

In Nānguppāttu in the time of Vīra Rāyanna Udayār (Vikāri year), a covenant was made resolving the enmity (pagai orukkam) between Pērāmbūr Arasu (Chieftain) Tirumēni Alagiyān alias Narasinga Thēvar and others and the Kīlaikkurucci Ūrār. It recounted the history of the enmity thus: Already, from the time of Pōlūr Sēma Narasinga Thēvar to the days of Adaikalangāttār Narasingathēvar there were frequent animosities and unsettled conditions. On both sides forty and hundred men were killed (pattu) and cattle were lifted or were dead, and the feud was unresolved. In the days of Adaikalangāttār he and Sēmar, Kudumiyanāyanār and the guardians of the community (Kāranavar) invited the Ūrār of Kīlaikurucci and ended this long-standing enmity. They agreed among themselves that both the parties would thereafter act in unison and in an agreed manner, and swore to that effect in Arankulavar temple. Thenceforward they were acting accordingly. They reduced the agreement into a written deed in the



presence of Tirumalainā ṭṭār, Kīranūr Puduvayal Ūrār and Mudusor-kuḍi Nāṭṭār. They resolved that those whom the Perambūr Araṣu hated or disclaimed (veṛutta iḍam), shall be hated or disclaimed by Kīlaikuricci Ūrār and vice-versa. They shall not think of themselves as two separate entities (Iraṇḍu ninaiāmal). If each party thought its own way, they shall be deemed to have done a sacrilege to the sacred feet of the god they worship. Both parties signed the deed and the Kīḻaikurucci Ūrār affirming the same way, their township accountant signed for them.[11]

The last record was of Naḷa year from Kuḍumiyāmalai. This was a protective covenant (Kāvamuṛi) on the animosity among the parties being resolved. The executants were the following :

Kunṛusūḻnāṭṭu Parambaiyūr Serundanambuseivār,

Pāṇḍiyanār's son Vanniyar and others,

Ūdayapperumāḷ, who was responsible to Tiruccirāppaḷḷi Angisam (Chieftaincy or Estate),

Vaḻituṇai alias Māvalivāṇādaraiyan of Kīḻaikurucci

Ūrāḻis who have the Pāḍikkāval rights.

Sōḻakkōn parayar's son Sūrāṇḍān.

Earlier on, Paḷḷan and the camp followers (pasakaḷ) of Seyyān Māvalivāṇādarayan ran and got into Nerunjikkuḍi. They were caught, and their cattle were destroyed; the Nerunjikkuḍi Ūrār were brought and taken to Parambaiyūr. Then at Siṛṛannavāsal Senguḻam, Māvalivāṇādaraiyan brought forth a force. Pāṇḍyanār, son of Nambuseivān was killed, and to hear this dispute Siṛṛambalam Nambuseivān convened the Iraṇḍukarai Nāḍu and got up an amity deed. But as they were going in front of his residence, Nambuseivān and his son Tiruccirāpaḷḷi Uḍayār got killed. In return Māvali-vāṇādaraiyan's brother-in law Silamban was killed, and cattle and calves were captured and taken. As the enmity had not ended in Kampaṇa Uḍayār's time when one of his Pradhānies or chief agents was in Kīḷaikurucci his aid was invoked, and he was given some inducement (attamum) and through him, Māvalivāṇādarayan was killed, and the vengeance wreaked (Paḻiyum Tīrndu).[12]

The instances cited were specific cases of feuds which were composed and settled among themselves, but only after much killing. It would be seen that the Arayars and the military chieftains had their

family feuds lasting for generations. It was considered natural, perhaps even legitimate, to wreak revenge for deaths inflicted by one party on a member of the other party. Inspite of composing such feuds they tended to recur. The family feuds, in one instance, had even affected the morale of the fighting forces when the leaders were split in factions. Whenever such feuds and animosity were resolved the parties entered into solemn agreements, and gave undertakings before the Nāṭṭār or the Ūrār or the temple authorities. In some instances penalties by way of land endowment or in cash to the temples and the Nāḍu were also stipulated in such agreements. In the instances cited, the rawness of human nature which carried animus through life and death characterised these feuds among the chieftains. The juridical conception of the society, if one can be discerned without attributing its consciousness to them, was still one of the LEX TALIONIS (*vaira* or *paḻi*). Criminal justice remained in the hands of those who were or who felt themselves to be wronged. Their eventual composition and declaration that both parties shall think and act as one was a belated recognition of the harm that had befallen them and as it was accompanied by an act of expiation, it held forth promises for a more peaceful way of living, though sometimes recurring disputes marred such prospects.

(2) Protective and Preventive Covenants

When such village tensions and factions among the Arayars took a violent turn, it was natural that peace in the township should be disturbed, and public utilities should be damaged. It should be hastened to add that, as such, there was no concept of public peace though often enough the value of public utilities was recognised. Often good sense prevailed, and the parties in conflict undertook not to damage such public utilities which were sooner destroyed than created. Some protective covenants of this kind are noticed below.

In the 24th year of Kulōttunga III (A.D. 1202), the Ūrār of Kīranūr of Vaḍasiṟu-vāyilnāḍu undertook that they shall not cause any destruction to the tanks, the trees or their branches, wells in the fields, and the wells in the hills, and the trees thereon during any strife or quarrel or feuds that might arise among them, leading to altercation and deterioration in relations among them. Anyone who

caused destruction to a well from among themselves shall endow a penalty of 1/2 mā of his own holding to the temple of Uthtamadānīsvara. If the trees were cut similarly $\frac{1}{2}$ kāṇi of land, and if any destroyed the baling stands (Ēttu marangaḷ) kāṇi-sey was the penalty. They also undertook not to destroy any surplus courses or field channels (Puravāri) wells, young and big mango trees, in any area they entered. Any transgressor was to suffer the penalty and give out of his land the extent specified.[13]

In the 40th year of Cōḷa Tribhuvana Vīradēva (A.D. 1218)[14] who took Madurai, Īḷam and Karuvūr and the crowned head of Pāṇḍya (Pāṇḍyan muḍittalai) and performed Vīrābhisēka at Madurai (Kulōttunga III), the Nāṭṭār of Vallanāḍu met as Nāḍu in full strength (Kuṛaivaṛa) in the Tirumaṇḍapa named "Tēvum Tiruvumuḍaiyān" and gave an agreement (Isaivuttīṭṭu) in the Tiruvaranguḷam temple as follows: "They shall look after the tenants residing within the four boundaries of the temple township as also other dēvadānas (temple lands and endowments) located outside these limits and the occupants therein. If anyone while doing so, obstructed (maṛithu) and forcibly took away calves or cattle, or did other damage (sitambu), they should besides endowing 2 *mā* of wet land to the temple, restore the taken or captured properties (pariccana, piḍittana). On the lands within this sacred township purchased by Siva Brāhmaṇas (temple priests), ceṭṭis, veḷḷāḷas, kaikōḷars (weavers) Dēvaraḍiyārs (dancing girls), Kanmāḷar (artisans) Iḍaiyar (shepherds), and others therein who had purchased wet and dry lands, and held them as Kuḍinīnga dēvadāna, (i.e.: temple lands with inextinguishable occupancy), the State dues thereon shall be remitted to the deity direct." The temple at Tiruvarangulam was held in special veneration, and this covenant was a palladium, protecting the temple lands and properties and providing adequate security for those who were holding or cultivating the lands therein.[15]

When new townships were formed, and house-sites allocated, it was enjoined on the community so inducted to be on their best behaviour. In the 13th year of Māṛavarman Sundarapāṇḍya I, (A.D. 1229), a new merchant street, Kulasēkharap-perunderu was

formed at Pēraiyūr. The house-sites were purchased from the temple, and a levy of 3/8 paḻam kāsu per house-site was fixed as a tax. If any among the merchant residents was guilty of any irregularity (piḻai) or wrong, they shall take the penalty inflicted by the Nagarattār body. Those who were acting detrimentally to the resident community shall not be eligible to reside within the four boundaries of Tiruppērai. On the other hand, if any hindrance was caused by the royal officers to the community taking residence, the Nāṭṭār and the temple authorities agreed to stand forth and be answerable for such demands.[16]

In the 12th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya the Arayars of Iraṇḍumalaināḍu gave an assurance to the temple-chiefs of Kunnāṇḍārkōil (Tānattu mudalis) that when they entertained animosity among themselves, they shall not cause destruction to the shepherds, tenants, and the public pathways (vaḻinaḍai) in the villages which were under their watch and ward. If any individual caused destruction he shall pay a fine of 100 paṇam. If any such destruction was caused, collectively by the Ūrār or the township 500 paṇams were to be paid as penalty. Even so (while paying penalty, they shall protect their charge, even at the risk of their personal lives by suffering cuts or spearing or even deaths[17].

Another agreement of the same kind was executed by the Ūrār of Rājasingamangalam (Rāngiyām) also in the reign of Pāṇḍya Jātā-varman Sundara to the Nagarattār of Kulasēkharapuram in Kalvāyilnāḍu. That Nagaram was under the watch and ward of the Ūrār, the executants of the deed. They undertook not to countenance any among them committing theft within the four boundaries of the nagaram. If anyone among them caused annoyance, or hindrance (nalital) to the Nagaram, or committed theft at night, or lifted cattle or calves, or did other mischief, he shall pay as penalty, cash or in gold and his holding shall also be transferred to the temple at Rāngiyam; besides they undertook to cause to be paid 500 paṇams by the person responsible for the mischief or annoyance to the Nagaram (Naga-rattai nalindavanai).[18]

As already noticed in the study on Pāḍikkāval, the system of watch and ward in medieval times was one of collective responsibi-lity of the Ūrār or the Nāṭṭār. Later the township entrused these

functions to the Arayars under circumstances explained in that study. Security counted for much for the Nagarattār or the merchant community. In some cases the Ūrār also extended protection to individuals who sought refuge or asylum with them. The Arayars of Vattaṇḍārkōṭṭai in Tenmalai-nāḍu sought the protection of the Ūrār of Perungōḷūr. They agreed to pay paddy in return which if undelivered by them, the Ūrārs could intercept and take.[19]

After the decline of the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas and prior to the rise of the Vijayanagar, conditions in the tract were unsettled. There was a brief interlude of Muslim Sultanate at Madurai. Life was insecure and property in jeopardy. The Ūrār of Ādanūr felt impelled to seek the protection of the Ūrār of Rājasingamangalam, though the former township was in Vṛdarājabhayankara-Nāḍu and the latter was in Ponnamāravati Nāḍu. Those were disturbed times due to Muslim invasion (Tulukkar Kalakamāy). In return, the Ūrār of Ādanūr agreed to pay 15 kalams of paddy in two seasons or instalments of 6/10 and 4/10 respectively.[20]

The last record from Kunnāṇḍārkōil related to Virūpaṇṇa-Uḍayār's time. The Kaḷḷa Veḷaikkārar were assigned certain duties to protect the temple servants and the other interests, the body guards of the deity (Uḍankūṭṭam) and the six constituents of Rathakārar (artisan and craftsmen) and their guardian chieftains, and to ensure that no damage to property and life and no other physical injuries or harm befell them. In return, they agreed to pay per kuḍi (family) per year I Āḍūra-veṭṭu and for every marriage one ring or Tiruvāḷi-moḍiram and cash I Āḍūra-paṇam. The accountant of the eighteen Bhūmi Rathakārars signed the deed.[21]

The township organisation undertook protective and preventive functions of policing and patrolling and also the responsibility to investigate crime or theft or make good the losses. If anyone transgressed the obligation then he individually and if the township as a whole, then they, collectively, had to pay the penalty in the form of land-grant or cash. Collective penalty was far higher than individual penalty. The strain on peace and threat to security of property and life were the more pronounced after the decline of the Pāṇḍyan rule, and aggravated by Muslim invasion. These aspects have already been dealt with, in the study on *Pāḍikkāval.*

(3) Village disputes and skirmishes

Disputes between villages occasionally arose over the ownership of lands, or over irrigation sources.[22], or rights of temple, or communal levies. These were settled either by the parties directly negotiating a settlement, or through the intervention of the larger territorial organisation of the Nāḍu.

In the 14th year of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya a dispute arose between the Ūrār of Perungaḷūr and Mangalam regarding the ownership of Ariyūr which was forcibly taken (valiyāka) and enjoyed by Mangalattūrār for their temple Karamāmunīsvaramuḍayār. The Ūrār of Perungaḷattūr obstructed it (mariccu) and contended that they would not give in (viḍōm) and appealed to the Mudalis or the chieftains of the Nāḍu that it was the dēvadana (grant) for the temple at Perungalattūr.[23] It would be interesting to know how this was settled, but the inscription is tantalisingly left incomplete.

Another incomplete record in Ālangudi seems to record a deed of seeking asylum (Āsraya) between the Ūrār of Kīḻai Āṟṟūr and Ālanguḍi.[24]

In the 27th year of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, the Ūrār of Anjunilai Pulvayal gave a deed of final settlement (Tīruvumuṛi) by which certain lands were given over to Kuḍumiyāṛ Udayapperumāḷ and others in compensation for some four cases of recrimination (nālu paḻi) that had occurred. The inscription is badly damaged, and left incomplete[25].

Fuller details were recorded on a quarrel among the Panaiyūr Ūrār and Kuḻamangalam Ūrār over the right to collect brokerage (taragu) which led to the two Ūrār mustering each their own men and fighting, resulting in loss of men and property and even evacuation of the village. When they returned to the village the merchants (Nagarattār) and the artisans (Kammāḷar) made them join together and compose their differences (Sēra Iḍukayile). It was decided that the Taragu (or the brokerage) from Panaiyūr would be utilised for the food offerings of Arivisvaramuḍaya-Nāyanār. The taragu (or brokerage) of Kuḻamangalam was allocated for similar offerings to Kuḻamangalam temple, Kōnāṭṭunāyakar. The Ūrār being illiterate, the Ūr accountant wrote the deed. The dispute among the two Ūrārs was amicably settled by the dues in dispute from each village being

assigned to the respective temples. The merchants and the artisans had reasons to thank themselves for their intervention for they had everything to gain and to carry on their avocations peacefully on the quarrel between the Ūrārs being settled.[26]

The last instance in Saka. 1382 (A.D. 1460) was a quarrel between the Ūrārs of Ponnamarāvati and Tuvār (Vinaivirōdam). The Tuvār ūrār gathered their men and helpers, and destroyed Ponnamarāvati in two parts, and killed some persons and committed dacoity and arson. The aggrieved Ūrār invoked an assembly of the Nāṭṭār at Tiruppūvāḻaikkuḍi and represented their distress (Melivu) and sought their help to destroy Tuvār to avenge their inglorious defeat. The Nāṭṭār agreed to render this destructive help provided the Ūrar gave a land to the Siva temple at Tiruppūvāḻaikuḍi. The Ūrār of Ponnamarāvati made a tax-free grant of a piece of land to the temple accordingly, excluding earlier grants in Panaimangalapaṟṟu after purchasing that ayacut from the individual holders of those lands. The Ūrār also agreed to bear the land dues thereon.[27]

In this instance, again, the quarrels between the two Ūrārs were characterised by arson and violence. It was considered that damage and destruction caused to one township could be repaid in their own coin to the offending Ūrārs, even invoking the aid of the Nāṭṭār.

(4) Criminal Cases, their investigation, trial and punishment.

In the 3rd year of Rājarāja Cōḷa (A.D. 928), the Nāṭṭār of Tenpanangāḍu fixed one *mā* of land to be given to the temple of Kunṟapperumāḷ (in Kunnāṇḍār kōil) if anyone committed mischief, theft or damage in the fields or in the highway in Ambaṇavarnal Vayalūr. They also decided that the offender shall not be treated on a par with others or admitted into society (Nirayiḷum Varaiyilum Okkakkoḷḷakkaḍavarallarāga).[28]

An early inscription of Cōḷa Parakēsari from Kuḍumiyāmalai recorded that the temple authorities of Kuḍumiyāmalai were compelled to sell away the cows donated to the temple as it was not possible to guard them against thefts. (Kuḍuttār Kuḍutha Pasu Kaḷḷikoḷḷakkākkamāttādu Viṟṟukkoṇḍa pon).[29]

Two cases of thefts from Kuḍumiyāmalai temple were dealt with-

one in the 2nd year of Vīra Pāṇḍya and the other in Saka 1538 (A.D.1616) In both the cases, the temple priests or servants were themselves involved. In the first case the agency, the method of investigation and how the offenders were found guilty and the punishment meted out to them were all set out. All the Nāḍus, Nagarams and the townships of Kaḍalaḍaiyādu-ilangai koṇḍa Cōḻa vaḻa nāḍu (otherwise called Kōnāḍu) met in the maṇḍapa called Kāngēyan Tirumaṇḍapam in the temple, in full, and gave their findings agreeing among themselves (Engaḷil Amaindu).

In that case the temple priests had stolen and taken the jewellery and ornaments from the main or inner jewellery chest in the temple treasury. The Nāṭṭār met in an assembly as nāḍu and enquired about this theft. The statement of Kunṛan Serundivanapperumāḷ, alias Edirili Cōḻa Bhaṭṭan was taken and it ran as follows: "The stone mason of the village and I took 60 pon and shared it between us." The other Siva-Brāhmaṇas were called and enquired. They stated "We did not know anything of this occurrence". Thereafter, Kunṛan Serundi stated "Apart from the 60 pon taken by me, the remaining gold was taken by these other Siva-Brāhmaṇas." "In that event," the Nāṭṭār said. "you (the Siva-Brāhmaṇās accused) shall go to Vārmaṇakkuricci and in the august presence of the Sāmantanār (the royal official) you shall have this matter heard by the Dharmāsana Bhaṭṭars; i.e : the Brahmin dispensers of justice, and shall make amends or pay the penalty as imposed by them. (Angu Vidittapaḍi Pratyam paṇṇungōḻ.[30])

Now, in the presence of the Sāmantanār (the royal official or chieftain) and other devotees and Vairāvis or mendicants (Tiruvaṇvala Tirukkūṭṭattu Irangaramiṭṭārum, Vairāgikaḻmunnilayāga) when they went through the fire ordeal, the hands of Kunṛan Pangan, Kunṛan Puṛṛiḍangoṇḍān, Periyān Dēvan, and Onṛāyiram Serundi got burnt. Kunṛan Serundi said, "I stole, and Pangan also stole to my knowledge". Hence it was decided that Serundi need not swear to test the veracity of his statement by undergoing the fire ordeal. He had also implicated himself and had turned an 'approver', in modern terminology of the criminal procedure. But there was no question of pardoning him. He and others who suffered in the ordeal were settled to be treated in the same manner as Sivadrōhies (enemies

to God Siva) were to be treated, according to those who laid down the path or the code for the Siva Brāhmaṇas. (Mārgattukku-Kaḍavar). Those other Siva Brāhmaṇas, even if they did not steal, were held as abettors on account of their omission, in that they were lax in the strict watch of the deity's treasury (Kāval sōrvukkuḍalpaḍutalāl), that is they were parties to the laxity in watch. Their lands in two ayacuts of Iluppaikuḍikuḷam were confiscated, and added to the temple endowments; these lands were thereafter to be under the direct cultivation of the temple and the full proceeds there from would be appropriated by the temple. '(Kōil uḻavu muṟṟūṭṭu). If any vendees had purchased the lands from the priests, they shall be released such lands for their enjoyments only after the temple treasury had received the stolen property (Inda Iluppaikuḍi vayalil Brāhmaṇar pakkal vilaikoṇḍavargaḷ Tīyakaḷavuppāṭṭāl uḷḷa poruḷ bhandārattē paṟṟi nilam viḍakkaḍavarāhavum). Those who had taken the lands on a usufructory mortgage shall lose their rights as mortgagees. No miscellaneous levies shall be charged on these lands as the Siva-Brāhmaṇas were exempt from such payment and this exemption would continue to accrue to the temple. If there were any fields which were owned, or any occupied holdings not acquired by purchase at the hands of the Siva Brāhmaṇas, the miscellaneous levies thereon shall be paid to the temple, at the same rate or ratio in vogue in the village. This was a permanent arrangement.

If anyone raised any objections (villangal), they shall bear the penalty for those who transgressed the Nāṭṭār (Nāṭṭukkuppin muṭṭār Paṭṭadum Paṭṭu) and for the Sivadrōhins and they shall also pay a fine to the rulers of the time.

The representatives of Punnanguḍi Dēvadānam, the priest of Parambayūr, and others of Sikhānallūr, Kāraiyūr, Nerunjikkuḍi, Kiḻattāṇīyam, Vīsalūr, Aṇṇavāyil, Vēmbanūr, Mēlnelvēli, Tirunala-kunṟam, and other nobles and priests signed the deed. The temple accountant was the scribe of the document.

It should be noted that in this case an investigation was done by the Nāṭṭār and the Nagaram and others in a preliminary way but the case was remitted for fuller enquiry to the Sāmantanār in whose presence the Dharmāsana Bhaṭṭas, among others, took evidence and proof and finally determined the guilt as the accused themselves were Siva-

Brāhmaṇas. Were the Dharmāsana Bhaṭṭas the constituents of a royal court? This seems likely. But the case was tried only in the Sāmantanār's presence and not by him but with the participation of Dharmāsana Bhaṭṭas. On the ordeals going against them or on their admission they were dealt with acting on the advice of those well-versed in the code of conduct for the Siva Brāhmaṇas.

The procedure adopted in another theft that occurred in the same temple in Saka. 1538 (A.D. 1616),[31] could be distinguished. In that year, a Kaikōḷa Tittiyāṇḍi Silamban among the 2nd service holder (Aḍaivu) had stolen a *paṭṭai kārai* ornament which was decorating the goddess Akalamīnṟa-Nāyakiyār, and he had sold it. When the temple treasury watch detected the theft, the offender's one hand was cut off (Oru kaiyum Āykiḷaipaṇṇi) and the thief was made to lose his service and driven away from the village. The other sharers of the second serviceholder were asked to make good the 10 pons being the value of the stolen property, and the guilt-money (Kuraḷai paṇam) and to terminate his service, but they pleaded their inability to find the gold. There upon Pallavarāya Māṇikkattāḷ, daughter of Sōlaicci who was one of the temple serviceholders (Parikalattār) acquired the service-holding and the temple treasury gave a transfer deed for the lands of the second service sold, and Mallappa Pallavarāyan, the chieftain also did likewise and the wet and dry lands and other appurtenances were sold to her for ten pon which were receipted by the temple treasury. The priests and the temple accountant attested the document.

A deterrant corporal punishment, confiscation and banishment from the village were inflicted on this culprit to register the violence to social conscience he was guilty of perpetrating.

In S. 1402 (A.D. 1480), a mutiny had occurred. Nāyanār (Chieftain) Kāngēyar had earlier been captured and brought to Āngudi. Thereafter, without his knowledge and that of the Nāḍu, Piḷḷān Visayarāyan, Puramban Vanniyaraiyan and Ālanguḍi Maḷava-rāyar brought forth their forces and killed 20 people, and caused dishonour (Māniyahāni). On this guilt, the 3 cantonments (paṟṟu) of Unjanai, Niyamam, and Kaḻanivāsal levied a penalty of 1 mā of land as fine on each and 3 mā of land so taken from the guilty were granted to the God of Tirutaṇpiṟai, as Iṟayili Dēva-dāna (tax-free endowment)[32].

An interesting case of murder on grave provocation at site had occurred in Malayaḍipaṭṭi in Bahudānya year. Āvuḍaiyāttēvan of Pūccikuḍi had been to his courtesan in Tiruneḍungolam to her house, where he saw her living with a Brahmin. Provoked by what he saw Āvuḍaiyāttēvan killed both of them, and was coming by the foot of the hill when both his eyes became blind. To get rid of the sin (dōśam) he prayed to Vāgīsvarasvāmi and offered to part with a parcel of his land and thereafter he regaiṇed his eyesight. And he gifted away his holding called Āvuḍaiyān-kuḍikkāḍu[33].

This was a case of temporary blindness caused to a murderer by shock termed in forensic medical science as 'AMBLAYOPIA.'

A number of late occurrences also had come to notice. In Sarvadhāri year, the Ūrār of Rājasingamangalam resolved unanimously as follows : The Maṛamudalis if fought with or assaulted shall be given assistance by kith and kin (sārpirandarayar). If among those who fought anyone was killed, the person who caused the fight shall pay at 5 paṇam for a man and 10 paṇam per woman killed to the Bhumīsvaranāyanār temple. The higher penalty for the killing of a woman is noteworthy at double the rate for that of a man.[34] Apparently the higher penalty reflected the incapability of the woman to defend herself while a man could be presumed to have that capability.

Vikramuttarayan of Kulattūr had joined hands with Sōlaiya Thēvan at Puliyūr and had been reconnoitring, for (papumpārthu) murdering (someone) at Kiranūr, and committed the crime. He felt remorse, and felt his heart unbearably heavy (āṛṛādu) and thereafter, on his confession the Ūrār of Kīranūr accepted him, and he agreed to abide by the orders of the Ūr as a whole "to cut where he was asked to cut and to bind where he was asked to bind". (Veṭṭukiṛa iḍattilē veṭṭi, kaṭṭukiṛa iḍattilē kaṭṭi naḍatha kaḍavēn-āgavum). If however, he stood apart or went astray, (Ēṛra vaṭṭagaiyāy ninṛāl) he shall also recompense for the 20 persons who were killed at Kīranūr.[35]

In Dunmati year the Ūrār of the cantonment Virayācilai resolved among themselves as follows : If there were any quarrels or conflicts (piṇakku) among the various castes, the Ūr shall be convened as a body in a meeting, and the case investigated, and the crime shall be

accounted for, and those found guilty shall be fined 12 paṇam as penalty to be remitted to the temple. Those who died by beating or being cut shall be compensated (paḻi). There will be no compensation for death by suicide or by taking poison (by the deceased). Those who quarrelled with the temple staff shall pay a fine of 12 paṇam to the temple.[36]

A Sum Up

Motivations for crime were either property, or sex, or partisan or family feuds and revenge. This last could take crude forms of violent behaviour and have chain reactions. The ḍistinction between crime and wrong was but slenderly noticeable in the last type of cases. Distinction between investigation and trial was not pronounced and the same collective bodies of the Nāṭṭār and the Ūrār discharged the functions either in sequence or sometimes telescoped or simultaneously. It was more in the nature of an inquiry, combining in themselves police and magisterial functions to an extent, except in cases triable in the presence of the royal officers and by the Dharmāsana Baṭṭars such as those involving the Siva-Brāhmanas. It was an investigation or trial by direct participation of the people or guardians of the same class of persons. It was significant that even here a pluralistic attribute of the forum for trial was noticed. Trial by peers or associating the sectarian or sectional leaders of each group of the community was noteworthy. For the particular codes of the individual avocational groups or distinct identifiable sections of the residents had to be applied and their conduct evaluated. This could, to some extent imply the variable norms applied as between the different sections inculpated and standing trial.

The hold of the community and the authority to inflict penalties or various types of crimes had persisted almost till the advent of the modern judicial system in British India in the 19th century.

In a collective forum of the township community in the aggregate, with the direct participation of the people, the voice of the elders or guardians of the community or accredited leaders (Kāraṇavar) and of the men in the vicinity or in the same avocation who ought to know, and religious and sectarian heads would have been heard with deference and would have carried weight. What they administered was the moral sanction and social values as

understood or prevalent at the time rather than the mere legal rights of life and property. This naturally carried with it a conscious stress on the obligations of the individuals to the society and to the deity held as a legal person. Expiation was coupled with punishment, which was in the form of confiscation or endowment of land and fine to be paid by the offender to the temple or even corporal punishment in graver crimes. No case of appeal has been noticed in any of these cases nor of revision/review nor is there any reference to a lawyer. This spoke for the limited number of forums for trial and the finality of the decisions reached., by the collective bodies drawn from within the area where the crime had occurred. The temple and its authorities and servants were held in special reverence and esteem, In the gradation of crimes offences against the deity and His property were ranked the gravest. Even so, thefts had occurred of temple properties and the priests and service-holders were themselves the criminals, who suffered exemplary punishment. Confessions born of the anguish of conscience and failures in ordeals had been the main basis for deciding on and pronouncing the guilty. In a closed society, concentrated in a compact or limited localised area it should not have been difficult to detect the offenders, more so because the accomplices would not be far to seek. The community hold over the village artisans, craftsmen and service-holders was strong and tight. For they were bound to the land and by it to the township community. Still a few cases of men going astray, mutineeing and aiding or acting on partisan directions were detectable though they could not hold out in their deflections and errors for long. The township community could be as severe in the penalty inflicted on such errants as sometimes considerate in accepting the repentant back into the fold.

II SOCIAL DISPUTES OR FRICTIONS

Available instances of this type were of comparatively later periods. The earliest instance was of Śaka 1398 (A.D. 1476). This dispute was settled by the officers of the Chieftain Māvalivāṇādarayan, Muḍitānginār, Kārayūr Vēlapillai and the Nagarattār of Sundaracōḷapuram. the Ūrār of Sevvalūr and the Nāṭṭār of Vaḍapaṟṟu. The disputants were Sevvalūr Pancavarāyar Narasinga

Dēvar and others, on the one side, and Cōḻakkōnār Pallavarāyan and others on the other on account of enmity due to "*Semmayir*". Consequently, they cut or stabbed each other, and had left marks of the injury to person, and were in a state of disorder (kūrraṟṟa). The assemblage divided the subject of dispute (Parisaipuram) into two: one on the righthand side the and the other on the lefthand side and assigned the Svatantram (rights) on those with mark on lefthand side to Pancavarāyan Narasinga-dēvan and those with mark on the right hand side to Cōḻakkōnār Pallavarāyan. The import of this inscription and the cause of the dispute are not quite clear.[37]

The second dispute was settled in Saka 1416 (A.D. 1494), 11 years later in Panaiyūr. This also arose on account of enmity attributed to "semmayir" among the Maṟavars of Panaiyūr Kuḷamangalam. A similar assemblage met and it was decided by delimiting the territorial area between the two disputants, so that each might have the rights (*Semmayir Iṭṭum Pāḍikkoṇḍum*) assigned to each party in a distinct allocated area.[38]

Was the "Semmayir" a reference to sacrifice of rams and the privilege of taking the principal share?

A third instance was a dispute among the potters of Kōṭṭaiyūr in Vṛdarāja Bhayankara Valanāḍu between two parties who had old scores to settle (*Paḻikkaṇakku-uṇḍenṟu*), The Nāṭṭār and the temple authorities convened their relatives and the artisans to meet, and settled the terms by which both sides agreed to abide. The old scores were settled, and the rights were equitably divided and lands were apportioned among them. It, incidentally, referred to a 'Udirap-paṭṭi land left for compensating loss of life in earlier times. The executives of the Nāṭṭār and their Accountant signed the deed.[39]

In Kōvilūr a quarrel and a fraternal feud had occurred in a barber's family (Kuḍimahan) Kaṇḍan and his brothers in which Kaṇḍan had stabbed Kāḍan. And the record registered the reconciliation among the family members, their sons and nephews reached before the Sengāṭṭūr-Nāṭṭār and the Tāḻvi Nāṭṭār and the temple authorities.[40]

In Tirumeyyam taluk, the disputes between the Paḷḷars and the Paṟayars were persistent. Three such records from Mēlāttāṇīyam,

Tekkāṭṭūr, and Pēraiyūr occur in the years Vilambi, Ananda and Vísa, (Vṛsa) respectively.

The Viḷambi record from Mēlattaṇīyam was ordered to be engraved by Vīra Cinnu-Nāyakkar, the Chieftain. There was a dispute regarding certain privileges in the shaie or crops Veḷḷāṇai (paddy ?), Vāḻai (plantain) and sugarcane which were claimed by both the Paṛayars and the Paḷḷars. The Paḷḷars claimed that they alone had the privilege (virudu) and not the Paṛayars and successfully underwent the ordeal of dipping their hand into hot ghee and accordingly the privilege was confirmed in their fāvour.[41]

In Ānanda year the Ūrār of Teṛkāṭṭur gave to the Paḷḷars the privilege of beating the drums (tavil) and (murasu) and sēmakkālam or a horn to be blown at times of good and bad and on funeral occasions (Peruvinai). The Parayars were also given some obligation but the portion recording it was obliterated.[42]

The record at Pērayūr was again a reiteration of the privileges accorded above to the Paḷḷars which was ascertained on verification with the inscriptions at Teṛkāṭṭūr, Virāccilai and Lambalakkuḍi in a dispute that came up before the Toṇḍaimān ruler. The inscriptions were copied, and taken to his presence and the Ruler confirmed it in the presence of the Veḷḷāḷars, the Nāṭṭār and the Palace signmanual officers, and the temple officials of Pēraiyūr.[43]

The Paṛaiyars of Puranjēri, though worsted in the above tussle with the Paḷḷars gained a point in their favour with the Ūrār of Teṛkkāṭṭūr. The Paṛiars were earlier clearing the grass in the threshing floor. But (now) in Sowmya year, they pleaded their inability to do so. This was conceded by the Ūrār; nevertheless the Paṛiars were allowed to get their earlier svatantra (rights) and to reside in the Puranjēri[44] (literally "outskirts") within the village. Was this an echo or aftermath of the tension between the Paḷḷars and Paṛiars earlier described?

The last instance related to the Māhēsvaras of the 70 maṭhas recorded at Pulvayal of the year, Viḷambi. They agreed to give one paṇam per head for the maṭha charity in the temple at Pulvayal from among the six main families and branches and descendants. If any crime or offence was noticed (as having been committed by or against the male or female members) of the Māhēsvarars, the Māhēsvaras and

Paṇḍārams shall themselves hear and settle the cases, and also collect the fee for themselves. This was apparently an instance of the community framing its own autonomous code, and providing a forum for hearing cases involving its members.[45]

In Manmada year, two Valayars Kōnāṭṭu Muttarayan and Seḻīndīsvara muttarayan of Kuḍumiyāmalai and others were given a deed by the Kārya Karta or Executive of Mallappanāyakkar. They were looking after the corpses, and walking in front of the corpse with their head covered and they were excommunicated by the Valayar of other villages and insulted (īnam-paṇṇi). Mallappanyakkar hence authorised by an order that they need not do the acts on account of which they were excommunicated.[46] As was already noticed this would attest the rise of the social consciousness among the Valayars and how it was respected by the community by discontinuing the repugnant custom, which was also expressed in terms of a specific authorisation by the chieftain.

From a review of these cases it would be seen that there was a pluralistic frame of agencies, of the community, the Urar, the Nāṭṭār and the sectarian or sectional groups. Their authority was invoked and their decision was vested with a moral and public authority and sanctified by being recorded on temple walls. These decisions on social customs and disputes were adhered to in deciding later cases of similar disputes. Despite rigid adherence to communal and community obligations, the Ūrār and the ruling chieftain did not hesitate to make departures as when relaxations were made in favour of the Valayar and the Paṟayar, though such occasions noticed were far and few between. The manner in which these cases were dealt with spoke for the sense of composition of adjustments and the spirit of accommodation that the society could show when these issues came to ahead.

III CIVIL CASES

(1) Temple disputes

Disputes could arise between the Ūrār and the temple authorities, more so when the location of the temple and that of the endowed land were in different townships or Nāḍus or such disputes could occur between one temple and another.

The earliest instance was of an apparent disagreement between the Sthānathār or the temple authorities and the Ūrār of Kaḷakkuḍi on the rates at which the dues from land endowed to Malayaḍipaṭṭi temple had to be delivered. This was settled in the 24th year of Coḷa Vīra Rājēndra (A.D. 1036 ?). The Nāṭṭār of Mīcengali-nāḍu in which the temple (of Ālattūrmalai) was situated, and the Nāṭṭār of Kīḻcengili-nāḍu in which the Dēvadāna village was located met and finally determined the rates at 3 kalams per *mā* for lands cultivated to be measured at the temple granary.[47]

A classic instance of the dispute between the authorities of the Visṇu Temple and of the Siva Temple at Tirumeyyam is luckily preserved in all its details. Both the temples date back to Pallava times. Disputes arose in the 13th century and these were settled in a great assembly which met at the instance of a Hōysala General. The inscription is dated 7th year of Māṛavarman Sundara Pandya II (A.D. 1245) in the Vaikāsi month on the 13th day in Pūrvapaksa Dasami on a Sunday. The participants were all the Nāṭṭārs of Kānanāḍu or Vṛdarāja Bhayankara Vaḷanāḍu, all Nagaras, Grāmas, Samayamantrins (religious heads), the Arayars who were the ruling chieftains of the Nāḍu (Kāppārāna), the Srī Rudra Srī Māhēsvaras (Saiva priests) of the Nāḍu, Nallatariyum Perumāḷ, Perumāḷ Irēvaṇa Mudaliār of Pāṇḍianāḍu, Vāsarpicca Mudaliār of Tavaḷaikōil of the Nāḍu, the Srī Vaisṇavas, the Srīmāhēsvaràs of Tirumeyyam, Srīvaisṇavas of Tirumeyyam, the Srī Rudra Māhēsvaras of Tiru-Koḍunkunṛamuḍaya-Nāyanār of Tirumalaināḍu (Pirān malai in Rāmanāthapuram District), the Chief of the Nāḍu, Uḍaiyār Tiruppāṇa-Tādar alias Nārāyaṇan Srīkumāra Bhaṭṭan of the Bhāradvāja Gōtra who was the guardian (samainda) of the 18 maṇḍalams belonging to Tirukōṭṭiyūr (Tirukōsṭiyūr), Sivaganga Taluk) in Kēraḷasinga-Vaḷanāḍu-all met in the presence of Appaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyaka, brother-in-law of Ravidēvan Daṇḍanāyakar who captured the Nāḍu and who was one of the generals of the Hōysala ruler, Sri Vīra Sōmīsvara Dēvar, to whom the nāḍu belonged (In nāḍu Uḍaiya) at Tirumeyyam and settled finally this deed.

For long, the Srīmāhēsvaras and Srī Vaisṇavas were in conflict on the manner of receiving the kaḍamai (land dues assigned to the temples) and the temple services were hindered. The dues to the temple

were lost; the yield was being distributed among the townships in the Nāḍu in the preceding years, in years when crops were raised. The *puja* in Siva temple and the *Tiruvārādana* (worship) in the Viṣṇu temple had fallen into disuse (muṭṭikkiḍandamayil). Hence both the disputants were invited, their accounts heard, and the dispute was amicably settled to the benefit of both as follows:

(i) Out of the Kaḍamai dues from Tirumeyyam township, hamlets and surrounding lands, 2/5 of the paddy were to be appropriated to the Siva temple, and 3/5 to the temple of Viṣṇu who was pleased to stand at Tirumeyyam (now worshipped as Satyamūrti).

(ii) A Parivardana or exchange was to be made of Vānavanmādēvīsvaram lands, garden and well excluding some lands called Rājarāja Vayakkal, and these were to be enjoyed by the Viṣnu standing deity) and in exchange (Talai mārāga) Mānguḻi and Tirunārāyaṇa Vayakkal and Arangankuḻi which were the Dēvadāna lands of the standing Visṇu shrine were to be assigned to Vānavanmādēvīsvaram-Nāyanār and Mēlamānguḻi Ōḍai to the Piḍāri temple.

(iii) The separating wall to run between the Siva and Viṣṇu temples in between would be along the stone planted and settled by the Nāḍu to the west of the west wall of the Mukha-Maṇḍapa of the Paḻḻikoṇḍaruḷia Āḻvār.

(iv) The enclosing wall in the north shall be built with 1 muḻam for its width (per taccu-muḻam) to the west, leaving 2 feet on the west of the west Jagadipaḍai of the Mukhamaṇḍapa of the Paḻḻikoṇḍa Āḻvār shrine. In doing so, the wall shall abut the parapet or dwarf wall (Kaiyuruviccuvar) on the south.

In constructing this wall, the expenses shall be shared in the same ratio as the respective shares of Kaḍamai.

(v) When the dwarf-wall ran to the east, there shall be an opening out into the water-course or lane (oḻukkai) which was held in common by the Sabhā.

(vi) The west shall be open without a gateway.

(vii) The trees all along the mid-enclosing wall between the two temples, shall be cut.

(viii) All along the alignment of the dwarfwall, on the south wall, north wall, west wall, and east wall both parties shall engrave and plant the sūla (Trident) and Cakra (discus) stones at the settled boundaries.

(ix) The eastern tarn shall be the Visṇu (standing deity) temple's. Both sides shall superintend or oversee the desilting of this tarn. If during such desilting any idols of Siva deities were discovered the Sthānathār of the Siva temple shall instal them for worship in the Siva temple. If there were Viśṇu deities or idols discovered, the Srī Vaisṇavas might instal them in their Visṇu temple. If there were common deities or properties other than these, they shall be apportioned in the same ratio as the Kaḍamai shares of each.

(x) The well to the west adjoining the Balipīṭha at the threshold of the Mahādēva temple shall be the Siva Temple's; when the well was desilted it shall be under the oversight of both the parties. If there were Siva idols the Siva temple authorities, and if there were Visṇu idols the authorities of Visṇu temple shall instal them in their respective temples. Common properties, other than these shall be shared in the ratio of the Kaḍamai of each.

(xi) All enclosures to the east of the eastern wall which abutted the northern hill, inclusive of the earthen well and tamarind (tree) on the western boundary to the west of the mid-wall between the two temples shall be Srī Mahādēvar's.

(xii) All land to the east of the midwell separating the two temples and to the west of the water-course-lane running towards the north and south of the rock and hillock, shall be the Visṇu temple's.

(xiii) The land lying in the boundaries described was also divided in the same proportion - 2/5 on the west for Siva Temple priests, and 3/5 on the east for the Vaisṇava priests. A careful provision was made leaving 24 feet land to the south of the south wall of the house-sites at the foundation level for the backyard of the house-sites.

(xiv) Aṇḍakuḍi and Perundurai would continue to be the Dēvadāna of Visṇu temple as of old.

(xv) Besides the Aṇḍakuḍi Service holdings the temples shall have separate piper (Uvaccu) service-holders and shall arrange for their remuneration from their respective temple treasuries separately.

(xvi) For the rest, all services shall, as of old, be separately arranged for, as were being held by each.

(xvii) In all other lands in Ūṟṟiyūr and others specified, wells,

trees, and house-sites, dry lands etc., both the temples shall have equal shares, and enjoyed as Kārāṇmai as granted by Appaṇṇa Daṇḍanāyakar and the Nāṭṭār. The miscellaneous proceeds from these shall also be shared likewise.

(xviii) The erasing of some earlier inscriptions including one in an unknown language--the musical inscription in Pallava Grantha characters -was authorised. Copies of the inscriptions pertaining to properties of the Siva temple found on the walls of the Visṇu temple shall be made and re-engraved in the Siva temple and vice-versa.

(xix) Those who said anything contrary to these shall be deemed to be Rājadrōhis (traitors), disloyal to their mother, and enemies of the nāḍu (Nāṭṭu-Drōhis) and shall be liable to be threatened with danger to their livelihood (janmahāni) and lives (Prāṇahāni) and pay 200 accu as penalty to the ruling authorities of the time, and yet follow this settlement inscribed.[48]

There was still a lingering dispute on the ownership of certain lands endowed for the Piper service in the Siva Temple, despite such a detailed award summarised above. This was again referred to an arbitrator, Tiruvēngaḍa-Nambi in the 11th year of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya- i.e : four years after the above award. The Sabhayār of Tirumeyyam, a Brahmadēsa, authorised the authorities of the Siva temple to have the result engraved. The Māhēsvaras quoted Tiruvēngaḍa Nambi as having taken the grass (Darba) from the hand of Sendāmaraikkaṇṇan's sacred hand (Tiruvēngaḍa-Nambi Appaṇṇarukkāha Mēlur Vagaiyāi Nir Sendāmaraikkaṇṇan Srī Kaiyilē pul eḍuttuṭṭār Enṛu) declaring in their favour 8 mā land and another parcel of 2 mā of land in Pāppāra-Vayal. On verification with him and enquiry, in the 11th year, before the entire nāḍu and the nagaram and villages it was confirmed, and the land was endowed as Ūr Kīḻ-iṛayili (i.e : the Ūrār bearing the taxes themselves) for the piper service in the Siva temple.[49] The *eclat* or the sense of triumph of the Māhēsvaras spoke out through the colloquial expression reproduced above.

The mode adopted by the arbitrator was apprently, a by picking out one of the two symbols or tokens one each for the respective claimants out of the hand of Srī Kṛṣṇa deity, and this was hailed to be a divine verdict.

These two instances vividly brought out that consensus decided the issues. The general assembly on such an important dispute was representative of all the territorial divisions, the disputing sects, and the community leaders, and heads held as great authorities by the respective persuasions. The initiative was taken by a brother-in-law of the victorious Hōysala General (though the regnal year of the Pāṇḍya ruler was still adopted). It also brought out the attention paid to details so as to avoid all future possibilities of conflict. It was noteworthy that the statement of the Māhēsvaras in their favour was verified and got confirmed by the Nāṭṭār and the Sabhayār before their proceeding to act on it.

The same proportion of 3/5 for the Visṇu Temple and 2/5 for the Siva temple was adopted when a further grant of the residual lands in the Tirumeyyam village was made as a Sarvamānyam by Cellappa Vīra-Narasiṁha Irājanāyakkar, the Nāyak governor or chieftain in Saka 1444 (A.D. 1522) during the reign of Srī Kṛṣṇadēva Mahārāja of Vijayanagar.[50] The lands so granted were described as "Bhaṇḍāra Vāḍai" or lands paying assessment to the State coffers, and the basis for this division was stated as the prescriptive usage ("Munnaḍantda-nērile"). The decision adopted some three centuries earlier (in (A.D. 1245) was still applied to this later grant.

An interesting complaint arose that Dēvadāna land was found to be diminished in its extent from the original quantum of grant, in the course of the distribution and settlement of the Nāḍu and this was resolved by a compromise.[51] In Vṛdarāja-bhayankara-Vaḷanāḍu, the lands were regulated and distributed (innāṭṭukku vagaiseigayil) by one Seṭṭan *alias* Periyanāyan of Vanjandūr in Pūngunṛanāḍu. In that process, the holding (Kāṇiātchi) of Perumāḷrāyan *alias* Nallagnānaam-bandar, one of the Āṇḍārs (supervisors) of the Tirumaḍaiviḷāgam the temple endowments) of Vaḍapulamuḍaiya Nāyanār of Ādanūr had suffered a diminution (Ēṛṛa-suṛukkam-paṭṭu). He laid the blame on the Periyanāyanār who regulated the holdings in the nāḍu (Paḻipōḍugaiyil). Finding the honour and prestige of one fo their elders challenged, the Pūngunnṛanāṭṭār supplicated (āsrayithu) the Nāṭṭār of the Vṛdarāja Bhayankaranāḍu to resolve the land dispute. The latter resolved finally to give Araikāṇi mundirigai of land as tax-free (Iṛaiyili) in Kāḍiyēri fields to the Āṇḍār who made the compliant, after making the necessary

accommodation to the temple. They also agreed to measure out a parcel of land equal to the extent found diminished to the east of the eastern boundary of Mānabhōgam in the Kāḍiyēri ayacut including the land reclaimed and to be measured by the same measuring rod as was used for measuring the fields earlier Kāḍu aḷanda kōlālē nilattukku okkka aḷandu kuḍuppōm āgavum).

The water for irrigating the land was agreed to be allowed from Kāḍiyēri tank; in return the obligation was cast on the grantee to contribute to the tank maintenance. The temple authorities and the acoountant and the priests of the temple also attested the documents.

A reference to the sale of land by the temple authorities of Neivāsal for 30 Rāsipaṇam for paying a fine imposed by the Nāṭṭār (Nāṭṭār iṭṭa Daṇḍapaṇattukku) occurred in the 13th year record of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya from Neivāsal, The details thereof are not fully available, as the inscription is damaged.[52]

In the 20th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya a deed was executed by Tiruvikramīsvara-muḍaya Nāyanār temple authorities and Mangiliyanallūr to the authorities of Tirumudu Kunṛamuḍaiya-Nāyanār of Koḍumbāḷūr. On a misrepresentation (mārāḍi-colli) at the eastern boundary of the dēvadāna lands of the Koḍumbālūr deity, a boundary stone with the Trident of the Mangiliyanallūr was planted and there was a false imputation (Paḻi viḻundadukku). On the basis of the letter from the religious head of the Saivas, Mudaliyār Kōil Vāsalppiccaimudaliār, the thānathār, and the Nāṭṭār of both the Nāḍus met and gave Maccanai-Kuḷam and lands to the Koḍumbāḷūr deity and the rates of Kaḍamai dues for the lands held as Kuḍinīngā Dēvadāna (*i.e*: Dēvadāna lands held with inextinguishable occupancy) were specified[53]

This case, as well as the Tirumeyyam temple dispute, clearly attested the authority of the religious head Kōil Vāsal Piccaimudaliār whose award was binding and final on the Siva temple executives and the Nāṭṭār.

A dispute between several townships and the temple of Uthamaḍānīsvaram Uḍaya Nāyanār and the temple authorities of Kīranūr was settled in the 43rd year of Māṛavarman Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1311 ?). The Urārs who were parties to the settlement were the following : Nānjil, Pērūr, Sēvūr, Vīraikkuḍi, Sunaiyak-

kuḍi, Oḍuvūr alias Virarājēndra Kaḷḷikkuḍi, all townships in Vaḍasiruvāyil nāḍu in Jayasinga Kulakālavaḻanāḍu.[54]

The dispute arose in the following circumstances. During the time of Kulōttungacōḷadēva (Kulōttunga III), for his merit and well - being the old Dēvadāna (Oḻippāl) Vāḻuvamangalam was endowed for Pūja and repairs to the temple, and the lands were reduced from the register of land dues, and the tax-bearing field accounts (Iṛaiyil kaḻithu, puravil suṛukki) and rendered as Dēvadāna. This was attested by the grant of the 8th year (A.D. 1186) conveyed by a royal epistle which is engraved in the Kīranūr temple itself on the wall to the north of the entrance into the front maṇḍapa (PI 145; ARE 'B' 290 of 1968-69). The Ūrār demanded kaḍamai for this village. Thereupon the Māhēsvaras superintending the lands not divided by metes and bounds (Nilankalanda), the mudalis (Heads of Tiruvannāval Tirukkūṭṭam (or Saiva preceptors) Mudaliyar Arbutakkūtta mudaliyār, and the sthanathār of the Nāḍu, the kaikōḷas of the temple (Poṛkōil kaikōḷar) convened a big congregation. They contested the claims for kaḍamai by the Ūrar stating "how could you prefer a claim like this, which was not current in the previous year?" (Inda Vāḷuvamangalattai nāngaḷ kaḍamai iṛukka vēṇḍumenṛu sollukaiyalē, munbilāṇḍu illādadonṛai nīngaḷ ippaḍi sollukaiyāvaden enṛu solli). They also brought to the notice of the Urār that three deities (vigrahas) had become due for substitution due to age and decay (kālamceidu aruḷinamayil).

The dispute between the Ūrārs and the temple of Kīranūr was settled before the sthānathār of the temple of Tiru-Kuṇṛakkuḍiuḍaiya-nāyanār in Vaḍapanangāḍu Nāḍu (*i.e*: Kuṇṇāṇḍārkōil) and one of the chieftains and ' son" (Piḷḷai) of the Pāṇḍya ruler, Kulasēkhara Vānavadaraiyar. In their presence, the settlement arrived at was as follows:

For setting up new images for the three idols fallen into disuse, and for services (ūḻiyappaḍikku) the Ūrār gave 1200 paṇam and 80 mā of land. The apportionment (viḻukkāḍu) of this amount of compensation was as follows:—

		Land	Paṇam (cash)
(1)	*Nānjilvayal*		
	Tenmā vayal	10 *mā*	194
(2)	*Perunjēvūr*		
	Mōsakuḍi	20 *mā*	300
(3)	Vīrakuḍi	14 *mā*	240
(4)	Sunaiyakuḍi	10 *mā*	210
(5)	*Oduvūr* alias		
	Vīrarājēndran Kaḷḷikkuḍi	10 *mā*	144
(6)	*Perunjaiyūr*		
	Rājamangalam	8 *mā*	115
	Tiruppuvayal	8 *mā*	
	Total	80 *mā*	1203 paṇam

The 80 mā of land were rendered tax-free, and reduced in the assessed lands of the villages.

The signatories to the deed were the following:—

Nānjil	—	Nānjil Vēḷār,
		Cērapāṇḍyan Viḻupparayan signing for another Viḻupparayan being illiterate.
Perunjēvūr	—	Rājavēḷār ; Viḻupparayan ; Kāngēyar
		Muḍikoṇḍa Vēḷār ; and Cōḷapāṇḍya Viḻuparayan,
		Vāḷavan Viḷuparayan ; Kulōttungavēḷār
Vīrakuḍi	—	Tenkarai nāṭṭu vēḷār Mudalipiḷḷai
Sunaiyakuḍi	—	Tiruccirṟambala Viḻupparayan ;
		Kaṇakku (Accountant)
		Periyāṇḍar signing for Ravivēḷān being iḷliterate.
Oduvūr	—	Nāṭṭu Kaṇakku (Accountant of the nāḍu)
		Aḻagapperumāḷ
		signed for Aḻagiyacēśvara being illiterate.

This was a claim made by the Ūrār ignoring or oblivious of the earlier tax-free character of Vāḷuvamangalam. It was surprising that the ūrār, within 125 years of the date of the grant should have raised this claim, despite a lithic record available in the temple wall

itself, losing sight of it altogether. (vide op. cit. PI 145). This was successfully resisted by the Kīranūr sthānathār and the temple authorities and resolved amicably by a suitable cash and land compensation in the august presence of the King's representative and the Kunnāṇḍārkōil temple authorities. In the proceedings three images due for renewal were installed anew and they were also provided for.

The last instance was dated Plavanga Panguni 10th day. The dispute was between the Ūrārs of Panaiyūr and of Kuḷamangalam in the Vaḍapaṟṟu of Ponnamarāvati Nāḍu. This temple dispute (Kōvil Vyācciyamāha-Viyājyam) was a civil suit between the two ūrārs and it was enquired into by all the Veḷḷāḷas of Kōṇāḍu, the Nagaraттār or Merchants of Ilayāttākuḍi and also many arbitrators or dispassionate persons (naḍuvar) meeting together. They heard the oral evidence of both sides (Vāymoḻi) and the issues were got clarified (vaḻakku tērndu) and settled the case as follows: The deity of Arivīsvaramuḍaiya-Nāyanār shall enjoy the Kūḍalūr lands and svatantras or privileges or rights. The deity of Malayakōil Tiruvangi-kālīsvarar shall enjoy the lands, proceeds and svatantras or miscellaneous rights and dues from Rārāpuram. The Ūrārs of both the villages shall act according to this arbitration, and as discerned (tērndapaḍikku) by the dispassionate arbitrators (naḍuvar).[55]

One striking feature of all these temple disputes was that they did not take the cases to the royal officers for their decision. Even when the Hōysala General intervened he was instrumental for convening the big assembly of the Nāṭṭār and the Ūrār with whom he associated himself but he himself was not the deciding authority. The role of the Pāṇḍya chieftain in the Kīranūr case was also similar. Thus the responsible guardians of the different functionaries, the Ūrār, the Nāṭṭār or the township or the tract organisations, and the acknowledged leaders of the religious sects met. They heard both sides of the disputants and acting on the judgement of or themselves as the arbitrators, they decided the matter on evidence and practice, referring where appropriate to the inscriptions or other documents. In these cases reliance was placed more on written or documentary evidence. Reference was also made to the custom and usage or common law to which the widely disseminated knowledge of the large constituents of the Ūrār and the Nāṭṭār could testify. The nature of the decisions or

composition of disputes would speak for the concensus reached. and the universal acceptability of such settlement, by all parties involved. This carried with such settlements inherent sanctions for adherence and execution.

(2) Civil Disputes

A few cases of civil nature besides those already noticed under other classifications such as Temple disputes, could now be cited. The first was an instance of confiscation of property for failure to render account by the agent to the principal. The second was a defective document of title and how it was rectified. Two other cases deal with disputes regarding a supply channel for an irrigation source and regarding distribution of water for irrigation from the same source between two villages.[56]

The first two instances come from Ādanūr. The Chieftain Kāngēyarāyar had an agent for managing his estate (Kāriya pēril) Sankaranārāyaṇa Pallavarayan. When he was in charge, as he did not render the amounts or cash (attam) due to the principal, in lieu thereof Kāngēyarāyar had enjoyed a village renamed as Arasamaṇavā'anallūr which had earlier been purchased by Pallavarāyar from the Ūrār of Kuruṇdaṇpiṛai and Pānūr Ūrār in two bits and thereafter merged into a new unit named after Kāngeyarāyar. This chieftain made over this estate from the 12th year of Rājarāja Sundara Pāṇḍya to one Pārākrama Pāṇḍya Amarakkōnār alias Vaṇṇakkan Sellapiḷḷai of Tirunāvalūr as Kuḍinīnga Dēvadānam, a tenure on which the estate was held by the transferee. The kaḍamai and other proceeds were to be remitted to the Ādanūr Temple.[57]

Next year another but similar change in the incumbent of an estate was effected by Kāngēyarāyar. This village was Vempuli *alias* Niyamanattunallūr. It was formally held by his agent Penmai-kuḍi Nāṭṭū Karaiyur alias Ravikula Māṇikkanallūr Umaiorupāgan *alias* Sankaranārāyaṇa Pallavarāyar. Kāngēyanār transferred it as the holding of one of his camp-followers (Nampasalkaḷil) Vāḷvanginān.[58]

The third case brought out the contention of the thānathār of Tiruppērayūr temple priests vis-a-vis Mādāpatyam Venṟān Tirumaḻappāḍi Uḍayan *alias* Tirupperundurai piḷḷai who was

looking after the temple affairs. The land involved in the dispute was Kaḍamban Vayal purchased by Tirupperundurai Piḷḷai from the Malaiyālanguḍi Arasamakkaḷ (Chieftains) and Maṟamudalis (the heads of Maṟavas). The temple was being paid a certain amount (lost in the inscription) as cash and 12 kalams as kaḍamai. The temple priests contended that there was some discrepancy or equivocality in the earlier grant given to the Māḍāpatyam-holder and hence desired to see the grant-deed (Nāngaḷ Ivaṟku munnāḷ koḍutha sādanattil Eṇṇai Vuṇḍenṟu solli). As the original grant deed was lost (keḍukayil), both parties agreed that from the 33rd year of Pāṇḍya Māṟavarman Kulasēkhara Āni month (June - July) a revised rate of kaḍamai shall be fixed. This was settled by Kōyil Vāsal Piccaimudaliār, the Srī Rudra Srīmahēsvara priests of the nāḍu, all meeting at the main entrance of this temple. The revised rates for the land which were cultivated and where crop struck roots (payirkoṇḍa) were as follows :-

All per mā: For pisānam 200 kāsu and 14 kalams; Āḍi Kuṟuvai 3/4 of the above rate for yielded lands.

Tiṇai, varagu: 1/2 of the above rate for yielded lands.

Gingeley and grams: 2 tuṇi, 1 padakku per mā

Turmeric, Karuṇai, Sugarcane & Betelvine.	same rates as per pisānam (from the day plucking or picking the yield started) (Kaipukka nāḷ mudal).

It was significant that the document explicitly stated: "Having agreed to (the revised schedule of dues) we (the Dēvakanmis) shall receive kaḍamai according to this agreed word for all time (Ippēccin paḍi kaḍamai). We shall not claim any rate other than those specified (Ippaḍi oḻiya maṟṟonṟu Sollakaḍavōmalla-Vākavum). Both parties subscribed to the deed.[69]

This was a rare instance of the kaḍamai rates being raised on the agreement of both the parties.

A record from Ūnaiyūr conveyed a deed of title granted by Ilanjār Arayan Kaṇḍan Nāṭṭān Pācālarāyar and Meyyan Meyyan. They were not aware of the title to land granted to the temple as "Irayili" or tax-free by their father, and they hence alleged that the temple had defective title to the land. Thereafter they were shown the original document on seeing which they confirmed the title to the temple authorities. The document was left incomplete.[60]

A dispute regarding the title to the land was settled in another case as follows. This was by the order of one of the Pāṇḍyan chieftains, Kāngēyarāyan, engraved in Kuḍumiyāmalai temple. The chieftain had been earlier informed that the lands in Marungūr in Kōnāḍu purchased by Viḻumiyān alias Bhuvana-muḻuduḍaiya Pallavadarayan was now without any possession and unclaimed (paṟṟiliyāi) as the vendee and his progeny had deserted the village. Hence the chieftain had ordered the land to be granted as Dēvadāna to the shrine of Āḷudaiyanācciyar, goddess in Kuḍumiyāmalai temple. At that time Udayanāyār alias Jayatungarāyan claimed he had purchased the land from the children or heirs of Bhuvanamuḻuduḍaiya Pallavadarayan and showed his title-deed (Piḍipāḍu). Thereupon, Kāngēyarāyan decided that from the 10th regnal year (of an unnamed ruler) the claimant Jayatungarāyan was to enjoy the occupancy rights (Kārāṇmai) and the goddess shrine was to receive the kaḍamai (the land dues to the State). His order was modified accordingly, reconciling the legitimate claims of a purchaser, and the endowment to the goddess. This order was transcribed into a document setting out the respective claims.[61]

A dispute arose in A. D. 1742 between the first turn holders headed by Kālingarāyan and the third turn holders headed by Mutturājan among the Sthalattār of Kuḍumiyāmalai, or the temple service-holders. The latter had staked their claims that even in the first turn they had the privilege of *Mayil-muraimai* (of being decorated with temple honours ?). They tought justice. The evidence of Kōnāḍu Nappiyār, Toppai Vīran, Appā-Sattirian, Kōṇappanaṭṭuvan, Paḻani Āsāri kōsuvellaiyan was taken. Based thereon, it was decided and settled that

there was no manner of right as claimed and that the link between the first and the third turns was that between chalk and cheese. (Mudalaḍaivukkum Mūnāmaḍaivukkum ācci toḍacci mayil muṛamai illai).[62]

The dispute between the two contestants regarding the channel feeding Maṛavaṇiyēndal could not be settled by the agent of the Pudukkōṭṭai ruler, Villvanam Pillai who referred both the parties to a trial by fire ordeal in Pulvānāyagi Amman Temple at Pāganēri. Nāgappan, the successful party in the ordeal was confirmed in the right to the channel water. It should be noted that this case was referred to ordeal only after it was found that the ruler's agent could not settle it.[63]

The second irrigation dispute was from Iḷayāthākuḍi between the two Ūrārs of Rajasinga mangalam and Kīranūr. The Kīranūr Ūrār claimed paddy to be tendered as price for water (taṇṇīr vilai) and for svāmi bhōgām. This was settled amicably by the intervention of the Suraikkuḍi cheiftain, Vijayālaya Thēvar under whose Nayakkattanam the tank and the temple were. The Ūrār of Pērānkōṭṭai who sought the water agreed to give the kaṭṭu-kalam of paddy to the Kīranūr temple as stipulated by the Sūraikkuḍi chieftain. Thereafter the sluice was paved with stone, and a stone-shutter with two vents was fitted so that the alternate supply in equal measure could be afforded automatically without giving the advantage of the control of the shutter to the Ūrār of Kīranūr.[64]

(3) Awards for valour displayed in defence of Community, Compensation for Workmen's death and Blood-grants.

In the 21st year of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya the men of Māvalivāṇādarayār gathered forces, and imprisoned residents and captured the calves and cattle of Iḍayāttūr and took them away to Ponnamarāvati. In the course of such a raid, at Maṛavāmadurai a Vairāgi Ponnappa Arukkavan Toṇḍavairāgi got poked (by sticks) in a fencing with pikes (Irukōlāḍi - kkuttukoṇḍu) and got stabbed (apparently while preventing the raiders). The wounds sustained by the Vairāgi were attended to, and the cattle were redeemed by the Chieftain Gurunōpakāri Sāmantan Tirumāni who had displayed prowess and he was given the title of Tirukkoḍunkunṛam Nāḍaḻvān and was

granted the right to collect kuruṇi paddy at harvest time from the Iḍayāttūr fields. This grant was made by the Dēvastāna authorities of the temple at Iḍayāttūr.[65]

In the 32nd year of Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya. construction work of a maṇḍapa in the temple at Kārimangalam was in progress, and while the paving stones (pākkal) were being paved (Eraḍukacille) a stone mason Vandāhadēvan Arangu'avan stumbled and died, as a stone fell on him. Hence the Chieftain of Sēndamangalam Arasu, Danma Āḷkoṇḍa Dēvan alias Dommayarayan of Pāmbārnāḍu in the western half of Milalaikūṟṟam gave to the Sthānattār of Kārimangalam temple 1½ ma of wet land irrigated by Dūtakkōn sluice in Kārimangalam, as tax-free (Irayili grant) as Udirapaṭṭi (land to compensate the loss of life of the workman). (Lit. blood-grant)[66]

A second intance of Udirapaṭṭi (land grant for loss of life) was from Dēvamalai, granted by the contonment (paḍaipaṟṟu) Malayālan-gudi Ūrār to a women Nāḍiyār daughter of Periyān Pērayūr Paraiyan. Earlier on there was some shortage of dēvadāna lands and Māḷuva Kumarappar taking poison, committed suicide presumably to protest against the shortage. Then 4 deaths (paḷi) ensued, and as there was no alternative, the son of Nāḍiyār was sought to avenge the deaths. And apparently the son was sarificed or killed. The Ūrār consequently gave lands to her and a house site as tax free. This was a compensation for the loss of life of her son.[67]

(4) Revenue Defaults and Recovery Proceedings.

It now remains only to consider the revenue defaults and action taken for revenue recovery. This has already been dealt with on its substantive aspects in the study on "The Burden of Land Dues". Here the subject is touched upon only on its procedural aspects.

The procedure generally was to demand the State dues on the land from the holders. If they had a bandoned their holdings or had deserted the village leaving the dues in arrears, the agnates or the sureties (puṇai) cited[68] were asked to pay on their behalf. If they did, the holding would continue with them. If they too defaulted, the collective responsibility of the Ūrār or other township community was invoked. They invariably brought the holding of the defaulter to sale and paid the arrears out of the sale proceeds. If the lands

were not divided by metes and bounds, the right of first refusal was offered to the undivided shareholder. If he was not interested in the purchase then the lands were sold to others.[69]

In Sevalūr, in the 7th year of Sundarapāṇḍya who was pleased to return the Sōṇāḍu, Visayanārāyaṇa Periyān alias Arasunārāyaṇapperiyān of Kōvānūr Kūṭṭam and others could not remit the cash dues for which a written demand (tīṭṭu) had issued in the month of Māsi (February-March) (after pisanam crop had matured) from the treasury of Uḍayār Kāngēyārāyar). The defaulters fled (the village). The Ūrār of Sevalūr brought his holding - Alaivayal, tank and its ayacut and excluding the earlier temple grants, sold the property for the current good-old kāsu 12, to the temple of Tiruttāṇṭōṇri Īsvaramuḍaiya Nāyanār. The Ūrār agreed to bear the taxes and labour/service dues (incidence of customary obligations) on the land themselves.[70]

In Vīsalūr Āḻvāndēvan had run away defaulting in kaḍamai and accu (land dues in kind and cash). The royal officials pressurised the Ūrār to cause the dues to be paid by the agnates, if any, of the defaulters. As no agnates (Gnātis) came forward to remit the dues, the Ūrār sold Āḻvāndēvan's holdings in public auction to one Kalikaḍinda Pāndyadēvan alias Sankaran Kaṇḍan of Malaināḍu for endowing it to the Kuḍumiyāmalai temple.[71]

In Kāraiyūr, Vēḷān Yeṭṭi alias Sengadir Cōḷa Mūvēndavēḷār was apparently in arrears of payment of land dues. The royal officer, one.........Brahmādirāyar had given out that the defaulter should be put in prison and dishonoured (Mānampōkkiḍa-vēṇum enru). To escape the infamy, the defaulter brought his younger brother's land -apparently it was a joint family property-to sale in public auction. As he was about to sell it to the Tirukoḍunkunṛamuḍaiya Nāyanār, hearing that the temple authorities of Tirumānkanīsvaramuḍaiya Nāyanār claimed that they had a lien on the Kaḍamai for their temple, the vendor offered to sell the land to the latter temple on obtaining 100 paṇam. Presumably he defrayed the State dues therefrom. In this case, a threat to imprison and dishonour the defaulter had worked.[72]

In Sevalūr village, again, in the 20th year of Māṛavarman Kulasekhara "who took all the maṇḍalas", the tenants of the village,

Tāḻi Nāṭṭān alias Uṟṟakaineṟukki, Tāḻi Makkaṉayan, failed to remit their land dues. As there was no alternative for recovery, the royal officers caused distress and applied pressure on the Ūrār (Engaḷai paṇṇātha vidanangaḷ paṇṇukayil) the Ūrār of Sevalūr sold the defaulter's holding to a benefactor for instituting a service as Ūrkīḻ-iṟayili-i.e: the land was free from tax being endowed for a temple service but the Ūrār would tender the kaḍamai and other dues themselves.[73]

In this instance the royal officers did not hesitate to apply pressure and cause distress to the township constituents.

In this context of the growing burden of land dues and the rigorous methods of collection, a record from Nārttāmalai was noteworthy. It appeared to be a reaction in the form of conjoint action on the part of the Nāḍu to safeguard their interests as against the royal demand (which had become excessive), when this rigour came to ahead in Vijayanagar times.

In Vijaya year, the men of Nārttāmalai Sīmaināḍu (Oppumuri) affirmed as below: The sīmaīnādu as a whole shall be measured as one puravu (estate or block) and the land dues shall be paid for the extent of land so computed at the rate (Ilakkam) assessed. In so measuring or surveying, good and bad shall be set off, and they shall conform to the code of equity (Dharma) and compensate for the deficiencies and sins. If anyone without adhering to this, gave in to the royal authorities (Rājakarattukku uḷkuḍuttu) and became traitors to the Nāḍu, he shall be stabbed abreast (Kīḻpaḍakkutti) and held under foot or beneath and his land and house site shall be attached to the temple. The Nāḍu might engage a suitable accountant/headman or agent of its own choice. Any transgressor of this collective agreement of the Nāḍu was visited with extreme penalties.[74]

These representative cases clearly brought out the regressive measures adopted to collect land dues in default which did not exclude infliction of physical pain. It also brought out the ultimate collective responsibility of the Ūrār, and in the later years, of the Nāṭṭār for remitting the defaulted arrears to the royal treasury, recovering the amount by bringing in auction or sale the hoḷdings of the defaulter. In several cases holdings

were joint, often commonly held by the members of a joint family.

IV. THE CASE STUDIES VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF THE PROVISIONS IN THE DHARMASASTRAS.

It now remained to examine to what extent the procedure adopted and the salient features brought out in these case studies and historical evidence culled therefrom could be said to conform to the principles and provisions of the Dharmasāstras and Smṛitis. This, in fact, would be the very reverse of the mode of treatment that Justice Varadachariar had adopted in his "Hindu Judicial System".[75] The excellent statement of the textual position available in the works of savants like Shri Priyanath Sen ("The principles of Hindu Jurisprudence"), Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kanē in his "History of Dharmasāstras"), and Justice S. Varadachariar himself renders this task easy, and their valuable contribution, in this respect, has to be acknowledged.

The following caveats have, however, to be entered at the threshold. The time-spread of the Dharmasāstras and the Smṛitis, and their commentaries is indeed, very wide ranging according to some from 4000-1000 B.C. to the 17th and 18th century. Even if we seek to secure a chronological synchronisation of the epigraphic evidence and the Sāstras, the Smṛitis, and the commentaries thereon, the 'acāra' or 'carita' or the usage and custom of the tract to which the authors belonged, being widely varied, are apt to bring out distinctions, variations and even contradictions, Thirdly, most of the Smṛitis, and the codes, as we now know, seem to reflect periods of strong centralised government under capable dynasties like the Mauryas, the Guptas and so too some of the commentaries as in the Cāḷukya, Hōysala and Vijayanagar periods.

The ethos of the Tamil country even in the heyday of Cōḷa Imperialism or Pāṇḍyan supremacy was quite different. For the township organisations like the Nagara, the Ūr and the Sabhā and the numerous community guilds or of artisans, craftsmen and merchants flourished alongside royal institutions and agencies with understanding, each respecting the other's limits, laced, as they both were, by

regard to local custom and usage in their functioning. The inscriptional evidence essentially reflected the transactions of these local organisations, permissible under the Sāstras, but not illustrative of the typical royal court and its proceedings.

Lastly, the Dharmasāstras were, to some extent, idealised codes (which would have had a core of actual practice subject to their territorial and chronological conditioning). But their preoccupation was with the Varṇas (Castes) and the *inter se* obligations within the heirarchy and the gradation of fallibility with reference to the socia order it upheld. Consequently the law and the dicta laid down therein could not *ipso facto* apply to the practical day to day occurrences, happenings, and the types of cases dealt with in the evidence culled from inscriptions.

The Dharmasāstras and the Smrtis themselves recognise this wide variabilitiy and caution against the universalised application of their principles to all. The criteria applied by Manu for evaluation of udicial evidence should with equal force be applied to historical evidence, viz: the Dēsa (place or territory) Rūpa (the form or description) and the Kāla (Time). ('Dēsam, Rūpam ca Kālasca").[76] Prof. Sastri felt it neccessary to caution against a generalisation of the historical evidence on the Sabhā and its functoning from the Mānūr and Uttiramērūr inscriptions. The same caution should, with greater force and inherent justification, be exercised in making any generalised application of the principles or procedure of Hindu jurisprudence as set out in the Dharmasāstras to the actual cases recorded in inscriptions. Within these limitations, the following broad findings can be deduced from the data discussed above. These findings can be analysed under the following heads: (i) the nature of law applied; (ii) the forum where these cases were resolved or settled; (iii) the nature of the procedure and (iv) evidentiary modes and methods of proof as gleaned from the inscriptions.

The type of feuds and recrimination revealed by the political enemities and tne protective covenants entered into demonstrate that retaliation (analogous to Lex Talionis) was still held to be proper and that a wrong done to an individual can be avenged by him straight, who can wreak it out himself directly from the offender or his relatives without resort to any other forum. And this appears to have

Nagaram. There appeared to be more than one accountant functioning in some townships concurrently. Changes, too, were frequently noticed though as one could infer from the names that occur, the executives seemed to retain a family affinity or atleast, in nativity, a continuity. Two categories of executives were noticed-the Madhyastan and the Kaṇakku or the accountant. Available evidence did not reveal whether both were entertained in each township or how their functions were distinguished. Smaller townships could have managed with one. Larger ones, depending on the population, the extent of land and occupied holdings, cultivation, and quantum of land obligation, could have entertained a larger number. Temples too had their own accountants besides those incharge of the temple treasury.

There would have been village servants to operate sluices, control issue of water, the number of wettings on turns, and the duration. By their very nature these would have needed and depended on a large measure of self-regulation as co-extensive policing would not have been practicable. Crop estimation of yields would also have needed the field executives or atleast assessors. This function was perhaps discharged by drafting some from among themselves on a participant basis by the land-holders, and estimation of crops would have been based on their own experience. The complexity of the system would have been moderated in practice by the persistency of custom, the uniformity of cropping pattern, the collective vigil of the neighbourhood, and facilitated by the compact limits of the township.

Changes in the Township jurisdiction and Character

Township jurisdiction and limits have been occasionally noticed to have changed. Inscriptions illustrate bifurcation and mergers. With the change in the demarcation of the Nadus, too, a similar transfer or division in whole or in part could occur. Detached bits (*Tuṇḍippu*) or enclaves of township were also occasionally noticed. Perhaps they were kept separate because of the distinct historical or the tenurial identity of the lands. When holdings became unified and enveloped such bits they were either reformed or integrated into one. It could also be that, even if lands were dispersed or scattered, to facilitate ccounting pertaining to lands of one tenure or under one enjoyment, they were separately kept as an entity.

In, at least, one instance, Nārttāmalai, a change in its character

had occurred and had been attested by epigraphic evidence. From its original nomenclature as a Nagaram it became an Ūr and, in between, it was equivocally termed in some transitional inscriptions as "*Nagarattu Ūrār*". Tirumeyyam had a duality of description "*Dēvadāna-Brahmadēyam*" but the land-based literati, the Brahmins, were not so populous.

The Nattar

In wider spheres, or in matters extending to more than one township, or enveloping the different sections of which the Township community was composed, their organised behaviour was channelled through the Nāṭṭār. The role of the Nāṭṭār in townships was also noteworthy. In some of the larger townships or those of regional significance they played a more conspicuous part. They functioned with an understanding oversight, deciding on matters that enveloped the varied interests in the townships or a group of townships. They arranged for common or public functions or the discharge of responsibilities not confined to any single unit or constituent of the community but there was a clear appreciation of the integrity of the township and it was allowed to function where it could. The Nāṭṭār stepped in to evolve a consensus or to see to its implementation, where it enveloped several townships or sections of the community. *Inter se* disputes between the townships or those between the temples and the townships were also resolved by their intervention or participation. Grave crimes, and long-standing disputes demanded their attention and their role to determine guilt or resolve such disputes was attested by the cases, civil or criminal, studied above. The settlement carried with it always persuasion and commanded compliance even because of the participation of all those involved and the moral authority of the collective body that backed it. They acted as the referee on custom and usage; the sanctions for their decisions were to be sought in the collective will and equity and the consensus reached with the involvement of every sectional interest concerned and that of its guardians or men who knew.

The functional content of the townships

The townships were the main instrument for promoting the beneficial use of land and other common assets. The largest number of transactions brought out the care and attention paid to convert

unoccupied lands, whether of the Dēvadāna tenure, or otherwise, within the township. They readily enlisted the assistance of the benefactors, who not only paid the price that could be funded but also deposited the capitalised land dues payable for the land. The vendees also undertook to reclaim the land and share the proceeds with the temple or endow them for services. The townships welcomed even outsiders and often bent their own 'closed' or inward-looking approach to accommodate a nobleman or a Chieftain even from afar, and sometimes obligingly if the Chieftains were those who had overtaken the tract (*Nāḍu piḍitta pērāḷar*).

The township was only acting in enlightened self-interest. Such sales reduced the unoccupied lands from which the land-dues yielded could be less or irregular. They added to the occupied holdings and augmented the assured income. The King's revenue also increased. The obligations and services borne by the township collectively got reduced, or it was distributed among the occupied holdings. It thus avoided the drain on their collective income and outlays. The sale-proceeds could also be funded, and so too the tax-vigil deposit, to augment the income of the temple or of the township. Above all, reclamation of lands and the renovation of tanks undertaken at the vendee's expense improved the townships, assets and provided more secure employment opportunities. The additional yield thus becoming available was also usually endowed for services or got distributed among the township residents.

In the process, the township labour was also utilised for excavating tanks, constructing channels, and raising bunds. So, too, labour was deployed in levelling lands and bringing unreclaimed wastes under cultivation. The township was the custodian of these public assets as well. Water management and its beneficial economic use and the creation of new rights were all under their effective check and approval. These were developed to such a minute detail that the irrigation modes and practices could compare with any intricate modern system favourably.

Unoccupied holdings diminished more and more and receded to the township extremities, where their productivity could have been but marginal. Occupied holdings had been extensively and progressively added to. A good deal of individual enjoyments divid-

ing lands by metes and bounds, with ridges, had occurred. Valuable lands and seedbeds were even fragmented and had become tiny parcels. Many of the fields were expressed in fractional extents of a *mā* or 33 cents, a standard plot for calculating yield or land-dues obligations. Holdings were partitioned among the members of the family, exchanged, gifted as dowry, or endowed to temples with the incidence of obligations fastened on each parcel. Occupancy rights were freely created on lands and the individuals had a keen sense of ownership and they claimed their title or share intensely as personal (Ennudāna).

It is easy to exaggerate the dimensions of communal ownership of land in medieval times. The evidence adduced in the studies would help correct such a misconception. Of course, there were unoccupied lands and house sites commonly held by the township and mixed enjoyment in lands not divided by metes and bounds. Also there were occasionally multiple interests, oftener and duality of interests in lands. But individual ownership of land fully and consciously held the field ; lands were sold, partitioned, bequeathed or gifted away fully transferring such rights. Investments were made in sinking wells, planting trees and gardens, excavating channels and deepening pits and ponds for improving the utility of the lands. A balanced view of the land-holding pattern and structure should allow for such extensive separated and divided enjoyments that had led even to tiny fragmented parcels. The contribution of such small men of small parcell to the temples, and to other public purposes and charities, their pledges and vows discharged, and their gifts of cows, cash, or small parcels or a share of the yield were no less conspicuous, and no less numerous than those larger transactions preserved in epigraphs.

Even the service tenure lands shared these characteristics though they were held as "estates upon condition." There was a mutually tenacious attachment between the townships, and the service holders and they vied with each other in exhibiting it. The township, too, generously honoured the service holders, the artisans, and the dancing girls who set up images of gods and goddesses, and provided for their upkeep or gave capital for renovation and construction, or otherwise catered to the needs of the township. Even the dancing girls had ready cash to fork out large sums when needed for such renovation.

The tenures under which the lands were held were also varied

and complex. Multiple interests were progressively getting fastened on the land. Land dues and obligations had also varied, and the agencies to whom they were due were several. The paradigm appended to the study on the tenures seeks to reflect the resultant intricate network of rights and obligations. The documentation of the tenurial and tenancy engagements also bears out the same intricacy, and the fact that the townships and the residents were conscious of their obligations.

The studies would hint that the several characteristics of the land tenures and the revenue system and even their terminology and accounting methods were so deeply embedded in the land and revenue structure of the tract that their indelible imprint could be traced even in the revenue village system as known to the living generation in Tamil-Nāḍu, more so in the erstwhile Proprietary and Inam estates and native States. To a student with perception and discernment this impact and the traces of the medievel land structure and revenue system left on the revenue system and administration in the British period can itself constitute a rewarding subject for a study in depth.

The functions of the township also extended to themselves arranging, and later entrusting the watch and ward functions to the Chieftains together with the land and/or a right to collect a share of the produce. The township bodies and the Nāṭṭār also enquired and resolved civil disputes; they investigated even wrongs done to an individual, his person and property, and necessarily did if such wrongs were perpetrated against the deity and the township.

The character of the township organisation was essentially collective and pluralistic. The township transactions in the same year or in close proximity contained different signatories and it did not appear that the same constituents of the Ūrār or the Nagarattār were parties in all the transactions in the same year, though a few repeat themselves. The coercive processes applied for recovery of land dues in default also illustrated this amply. The landholder's defaults led to the claim for payment being preferred against the agnates or those who stood surety (*Puṇai*) for the defaulter. Should they fail, the royal officers did not hesitate to take the Ūrār, the elders of the township, to task, applied pressure, and even pain (*Vēdinai*) and distrained the common holdings, or those in default until the worthies in charge ofthe township affairs forked out the amount due. The evidence

in the epigraphs would clearly suggest that the township responsibility was joint and several. The village elders had to bear the vicarious hardship. This was so onerous that the township had to dip into the common resources or to resort in a few cases to the unsavoury method (to the medieval, mind, the more so) of pledging the deity's jewellery or capital funded for renovation of the temple. The temple in such cases rushed to the assistance of the Ūrār and acted as their banker.

The pluralistic character was also reflected in the assemblages that were convened for settling major civil and communal cases. In that context, several community organisations and sections of the townships come into focus. The Māhēsvaras, the Saiva priests, the sectarian leaders, the Vaisṇavas are the organised groups based on avocation or sects. Each professional group like the Rathakāras or the artis ans, the Kammāḷar or the blacksmiths, the Kaikōḷar or weavers were similarly organised each with its own Kāraṇavar or guardians and accountants. There were garrisons stationed as at Kuḍumiyāmalai which were similarly organised with their own executive staff and accountants. Even among the Nagarattārs there were several social groups like Silai Ceṭṭis, Danma Ceṭṭis, and Brahma Ceṭṭis, every one of which had its own accredited leaders, or representatives to authenticate deeds on their behalf. Alongside the larger body of the Nāṭṭār who had revenue and administrative functions and superintendence, the Ūrār, and the Nagaram and the Sabhā, these groups localised in a township, some even cutting across the township boundaries had also a say on matters affecting their own group and their affairs-in raising taxes for a common purpose, in deciding social disputes and in laying down norms for their conduct and behaviour. The larger merchant bodies like the Tisai-Āyirattu Annūṟṟuvar were even wider bodies spread over many tracts, cutting across even kingdoms, and had acted as the custodian of the code of conduct of their constituents and were authorised to conclude community transactions.

The township organisation and the temple had also served economic functions, mutually assisting and promoting the interests of each other. Deposits were received in gold or in currency for the capitalised amount from the proceeds of which the Ūrār undertook to pay the recurring landdues. This method was termed Irai-Kāval (Taxvigil). The townships would have, in their turn, loaned the amount

or invested it in other productive forms so that the recurring income needed could accrue. The townships would have been the financing agency for investment and cattle wealth to increase and for land dovelopment works.

The temple, too, received large amounts of cash which it loaned to the shepherds to buy and maintain buffaloes or goats for supplying ghee for lamps or other services. The receipts in gold were particularly larger in the tenth century as the early Cōḷa epigraphs bear out. But land transactions increased thereafter. The temples sold their unoccupied Dēvadāna lands and the sale proceeds were funded for renovation or additional capital expenditure. Additional shrines and services were themselves one means of augmenting occupational avenues, and agro-economic development. The prosperity of the township could also increased thereby. And it did the temple was not a mere catalyst, but an active agent for and participant in promoting economic growth. The temple was, besides, instrumental for extension of cultivation. They themselves maintained farms, and directly cultivated lands with hired labour under the supervision of the temple servants. They had the cattle, the ploughs and implements and other agricultural requisites in their own depots. Some of these cattle and ploughs could have been donated by benefactors as well. In this respect the temples were acting as agricultural entrepreneurs ensuring cultivation and land utilisation beneficial to themselves and to the community.

The community, as already noticed, had several constituent sections. They had also contributed out of their own resources, taxed themselves voluntarily, besides taking on other obligations such as holding torches for festivals; they added shrines and deities and provided for the services.

The township had been actively participating in all social functions, temple festivals and festivities, and royal visits. They honoured the benefactors or other donors who set up images and added shrines and services. Artisans, craftsmen, and those who performed distinguished sservices to the Township were honoured, granted titles and decorations, and grants in cash or land.

Contribution of individuals in the growth of Townships.

In almost every township, a few leading families or benefactors

the former from within and some of the latter from without or royal Chieftains who had special local attachment contributed a great deal to the growth of the township and the expansion of the temple.

In Nārttāmalai the families of Veḷiyārṟūrār, the members of Paḻuvūr families and the family of Parambayūr Kaḍamban Gangādharan and his brothers distinguished themselves by adding shrines for the goddesses and providing for them. In Virāccilai, Sōthi Āḻvār of Sundara-pāṇḍyapuram in Kalvāyilnāḍu was a benefactor who excavated tanks and renovated the drinking water source. Later, again, Puduccēri Uḍayān Piḷḷaiperumāḷ *alias* Aṇṇāmalai nāḍan obliged by reinstating substitute images of *Vigrahas* for those which had become unserviceable due to the lapse of time. The priest who was instrumental to harness this donor's interest as well as the benefactor were gratefully honoured by the township.

Bhuvanasingadēvan, a Chieftain under Sēmappiḷḷayār was the main contributor to the enlargement of Tiruvaranguḷam and its temple. He particularly organised the land tenancy, settled the rates of dues and superintending fee payable by the occupants and also endowed the proceeds of several taxes and levies to the temple.

The temple at Kuḍumiyāmalai had been favoured by many scions of the Cōḷa royal families and members of the feudatory families, the Irukkuvēḷs, the Mutharayars, the generals under Parāntaka Chōḷa and above all, by his prince Kōdaṇḍarāman.

Later, in Pāṇḍyan times, Kāngēyarāyan the chieftain of Āṟṟūr in Cōḷa Pāṇḍya Vaḷanāḍu enlarged the Kuḍumiyāmalai temple,[1] and built its *maṇḍapa* still bearing his name and also made several other benefactions. He should be remembered, particularly, for the care with which he got re-engraved, some to his own dictation, the earlier grants and epigraphs including even those of the Cōḷa rulers whom the Pāṇḍyas had vanquished.

Kālingarāyan was another such benefactor.

Kalikaḍindadēvan *alias* Sankaran Kaṇḍan of Koḷattūr in Malaimaṇḍalam had provided for new festivals, built a new *maṇḍapam* in the garden for hunting festival, and also enlisted the assistance of the Ūrār for holding torches in the streets each in front of his house. He also laid roads and made additions to the township.

The evidence is significant; it brought out not only what the

chieftains did but what they were. Their status as the local representatives haxing the King's authority had carried weight. Their powers to grant absolute remissions of land dues or partial remission against payment of *karpūra vilai* were frequently availed of. Their assistance was invoked to secure further assignment of land or land dues by the King as they had access to him and they were heeded.

The royal Chieftain's role also in settling long outstanding community disputes or grave crimes was noteworthy. Surely, they were not the sole deciding authorities. But their august presence was availed of as it lent the imprimature of the King when disputes were settled and grave crimes were investigated and the guilty were punished. The temple dispute at Tirumeyyam and the Temple Theft case at Kuḍumiyāmalai are instances in point.

Even otherwise in levying taxes or diverting the proceeds for the temples or instituting services, the word of the Chieftain had carried persuasion and weight with the townships and the several sections of the community. Certainly the township and the Nāḍu had their own spheres of discretion and of action. But till almost late in the 15th century when the burden of land dues became exacting, the general tendency for the Ūrār and the Nāṭṭār was to conform and not to contest, to acquiese or accept and not to run counter to the wishes or the expressed intimations from the Chieftains, and the rulers. The attitude of the Ūrār to the Chieftain then was one of deferential compliance rather than one of abject subservience.

The King and his officers, correspondingly, were responsive to the needs of the Ūrār and of the temple authorities and often provided for them on their submission. Their special interest in repairs to canals which had breached, execution of public works and providing for charitable and religious services and other all acts of public benefit and service were appreciated by the Ūrār. The King and his officers or chieftains had also granted or assigned land from the village common to the beneficiaries and they were duly registered and implemented by the township. Hence the authority for disposal of land, for grant or assignment of revenues and of remitting obligations were found to be concurrently exerciseable by the King and his chieftains. Unoccupied land, though under the supervision and the oversightof the Ūrār, in

the township could also be assigned by the King or his chieftains either by assigning the land dues portion alone, or together with the land. But absolute remission of the King's land dues could be granted only by him and his officers. Otherwise the obligation would fall on the townships and the Nāṭṭār and would get added to their collective responsibilities.

The studies bear out the remarkable stability of the community and the long held consistency of its behaviour almost from the seventh century to about the 15th century, and in some respects even there after. The reasons for these characteristics can now be suggested.

The normal pattern of life of the society throughout was affected but little either by political changes that occurred or by any serious upheaval until the Muslim incursions. Whether it be the Hōysala supervention or the extension of the Vijayanagara rule and of the Nāyaks' the community took them in their stride and paid the land dues obligations to the ruler for the time being (*Anṛu Ulaguḍaiya Nāyanār*) and composed themselves; the even tenor of life was not badly shaken though temporarily there might have been some upsets. The effect of even such upsets could have been turned more towards and felt by the chieftains of an earlier regime and insulated.

The social fabric and its activities found its centre and focus in the temple. Perhaps, it was the escape of the unsophisticated sense of wonder, or the fear of the Ineffable. More pronouncedly, the impact of the emotional force of surrender and dedication to the Divine personalised and concretised in the deity was keenly felt. Their recognition of the Supreme in the form of the deity as one controlling the destinies of man and to whom his actions were accountable was also strong. Hence the solicitude in providing for the services to the deity, seeking his blessings while setting out on expeditions, praying for the soul of the departed and atoning for crime and wrongs. But these motivations took forms and means which essentially fostered economic growth and mundane activity. Their sights were lifted upwards but their hands applied themselves to the plough, and their feet were turning the clod and the puddled soil.

The technological framework and capabilities of the agrarian practices and farm-structure did not get transformed much and were continuing almost throughout the period. But it should be hastened

to add that the practices and methods were not static. Impelled by the need to conserve water, and maximise its use, more and more conservancy measures were being undertaken. Agriculture too, had, diversified. Dry lands were being converted to wet progressively. Varieties of crops were grown, harnessing the available moisture content and water resources. A scale of gradation among these crops had also become established. The needs of the community, too, were increasing. They were sought to be met and could be met more by extension of cultivation than by intensive cultivation methods.

Admittedly, the epigraphic evidence reveals the preoccupation with the share-interests in the land-yield of the grantee, and of the holders under the grantee, and the occupants of different varieties under them. The economic status of the actual tillers at the base could be only one of relative adequacy. But their security of employment was vouched for, and was attested by their residential status. Together, the emerging impression could be one of skewed distribution of land-yield-shares among them, the beneficiaries, the occupants, and the tillers of the soil.

To the extent the demographic composition of the township was homogenous or at least characterised by a shared identity of interests, it would have, and it had facilitated their functioning, even if individual interests could have varied and, at times, become irreconcilable. The community living together in a compact area with its defined individuality and meshed-in life interests would only have forged an approach to an integrative syndrome. True, it did not lead so far as to generate an idea of corporateness-a relatively modern concept, or the concept of Township Peace to prevail, nor did it do away with retaliation as the usual remedy for wrongs. But it did bring about the composition of conflicts and harmonisation of the varied interests and aspects of economic and social activity.

The real reason for this longheld consistency should be sought deeper, in the psychological makeup and approach to life that characterised their conduct of affairs. It was one of harmonising interests and of being, by and large, fair and equitable in their dealings.

Certainly, there were violent eruptions as when the Arayans fought, stabbed and killed each other in retaliation in their moments

of feud and frenzy. Insecurity, there was, sometimes; even cattle endowed to the temple were not safe. Temple servants and even priests were guilty of theft. Some elements of the population were more volatile and deflected than others. Essentially, all sorts of human impulses and reactions went to make the totality of life and conduct of man. Life had its brutish and nasty distortions. But history should faithfully reflect the perspective of the times and apply their own norms. It cannot superimpose the standards, much less the legal ethics, of a later-day and evolved society. Even alongside such deflections life, too, was beautiful and ennobling. This other side of the picture that the township activities present is an integral part of it, and it has to be recapitulated to be fair and true to them.

When competing claims were preferred, they took pains to examine both sides and to refer to the documents of title and applied their worldly wisdom and commonsense. They sought to mete out as much equity as the viewpoint of the contestants and their respective claims would permit. If a holder complained of a diminution in the extent of land his legitimate interests were accommodated without allowing the temple properties to suffer. If a grant of land was found to be made under a misconception, the legitimately derived claims preferred by the vendee with proper title were accommodated, and the grant was modified into a share interest. In short, their attitude was characterised by decency.

The same decency, coupled with an unsuppressible tender conscience, led to confessions by criminals and culprits and a willing submission to punishment and atonement. The temple priest stole the cash and jewellery of the deity, but he admitted it, even in the first instance; at least one among the several thieves. A criminal had such an oppressive sense of guilt (*Āṛṛādu*) that he owned it and made a clean breast of his heinous crimes (*Paḻikāranākaiyālē*) and profusely vowed to make amends and turn over a new leaf. Often, a punishment was based on the owned guilt of the accused.

There was another trait in the medieval frame which led to the same result, their appeal to the authority of established usage, prescription or custom. When the Māhēsvaras of Kīranūr were demanded to pay land-dues they held under check the claims of the six Ūrārs of six townships with an impassioned and unanswerable

query "How do-it sounded dare-you ask for the payment of the land dues when they were never so paid in any of the years in the past?" (*Munbilāṇḍu Illādadoṇrai nīngaḷ ippaḍi soilukaiyāvaḍu En eṇrusolli*). The six urārs had not only to give up their claims, but compensate the temple with land and cash, and, in the process reinstall three deities which were due for renewal.

Their appreciation of documentation was intense. When disputes or doubts arose, it was a habit of mind for them to ask for the original document of title or refer to the inscriptions on temple walls. Irrigation disputes were settled, social and sectional feuds were resolved and rights and obligations and privileges and liberties were granted, and the documents incorporating their details were recorded in temple walls. Hence too a renovator like Kāngēyan took pains to recopy old epigraphs and even grants of antagonistic dynasties or vanquished rulers. The temple walls served as a chancery or record of the memory of the community and it was often referred to while searching for precedents or prescriptive rights. As against the volume of lithic records left behind, there would have been a far larger, corpus or documentation in palmleaves or other perishable material. The very manner of these deeds had become stylised with foils and counterfoils, distinguishing sale-deeds and receipt-deeds and guarantee deeds (as in the sale of land to Nācci, daughter of Duggai, the dancing girl). A community which could appreciate the utility of such documentation and had evolved patterns of drafting with a premium on details can only be a respector of ancient custom, and usage and an upholder of the obligations cast joint and several.

Changes were making their appearance from about the middle of the 14th century and they showed up and shaped themselves in the 15th century and after. These could be attributed both to the internal and external causes.

Internecine strife among the chieftains, raids and arson and feuds had become more frequent and killings had become more common. Life and property and even the public utilities were sometimes exposed to attack and damage. In a tract so fragile in its agricultural base, the land dues had become progressively more burdensome and less flexible. Payment in cash was an added disadvantage. The community had to exert themselves more to be left with less.

Externally, the Muslim incursion had led to insecurity, pillage and uprooting of townships and plunder of townships on the way. The Vijayanagara and Nayak rule did help restore confidence, reconscrete temples and a return of normalcy. But then there were irretraceable changes particularly in the revenue and the police systems that affected the organisation of the township and its functioning. Larger entities like Nāḍus were also playing a greater role than before. Individuals, whether it be executives of the chieftains or the agents of benefactors appointed to supervise the services instituted by their masters were appearing on the scene increasingly. Chieftaincies, principalities or estates were being carved with assignment of lumpsum revenues which were collected and were sometimes varied at the discretion of the estate-holders and their officers. These naturally led to the undermining of the self-regulatory collective organisation of the township in which the residents who mattered directly participated and decisions reached were broadbased. The waning of these organisations from their accredited positions as the custodian of land and revenues and community interests and as the instrument for administering charitable endowments could not be arrested. They perhaps became social groups as the *mahajanams* or other assemblages of distinct identity. They, no longer, could hold secure the authority and the authenticity of the localised functioning community in its organised behaviour. Their collective functional content had got thinned out, and with that their capabilities got weakened, particularly when the discretion of the individual and his authority irresistibly made inroads into it.

A consciousness was also rising of what was mean socially or unsavoury and what was not. This had needed a re-evaluation of the functions of the different sections of the community. The community and the ruling chieftains were responsive, and accommodated such demands for changes while yet retaining the social fabric and its framework. Indeed, concession by way of such changes made was the *quid pro quo* for the very continuance of that social structure and framework. Even in these later years the basic concept of the Hindu code of conduct and way of life had continued to express themselves through their transactions as these had become seeped into their life and embedded in the social consciousness of right and wrong. It could be said that the latter was even conditioned by the former.

But the hey-day of their full functional efficacy synchronised with the Cōḻa and the Pāṇḍya rule. The volume of evidence was also the largest pertaining to these periods. The township, not only, performed, then, the community functions but even those of the King and his men. Indeed, they were looked upon to discharge those functions. They, for their part, were the willing instruments for executing the royal orders and the directions of the Chieftains. But their base was the Township itself, and their interest inhered in it. They cared for its growth and expansion. They explored avenues to make life better, and made efforts to make it fuller in its material and qualitative content. In that task they have, as the studies show, succeeded in an abundant measure.

The key to that success should be sought, again, in their basic approach and their mental frame unconscious though they be. As Carlyle said, "The unconscious is the alone complete". They adhered to the ancient usage and customary values and modes of the beyond, but pitched their sights for the better ahead. In other words, their approach and attitude were characterised by a duality. They were conservative in instinct, but progressive in determination.

APPENDIX

Some quaint phrases and idioms occurring in Pudukkottai Inscriptions.

Tamiḻ language can legitimately claim that its vogues and some characteristic idioms have been in use almost from the Sangam age right down to the present day. But the grammarians of the language have brought to bear a catholicity of approach, and have been tolerant of the changes (*Kaḍisolillai tuppaḍKālatine.*[1]

To a present-day student of Tamiḻ a few phrases and expressions in the inscriptions sound quaint as unfamiliar but attractive, piquant in virtue, particularly old-fashioned, or daintily odd. Such idioms might have been also in vogue in particular localities or in a particular age. Also, many colloquial forms and phrases in use were employed in the inscriptions.

This note picks out a few of such phrases and also tries to bring out the appropriate suggestion conveyed by these terms. It is the genius of an idiom in any language that it is untranslatable in another. But, this inherent difficulty is sought to be mitigated by resort to the nearest approximate phrase or rendering in English.

1. 'Niraiyilum Varaiyilum Okkakkoḷḷakkaḍavadallavāga"[2]

This occurs in a short inscription from Kunnāṇḍārkōil which prescribes a penalty of 1 *mā* of land on those who committed damage or mischief (*aḻipiḻai*).

It apparently intends to convey that even after the penalty was paid, the persons responsible for such anti-social acts shall not be admitted into the society as equals, or be eligible for such rights and privileges of the community. Literally it could be rendered as "We shall not take him (the offender) in as an equal in to the fold, and as peers in the level (of the society)". Another rendering could be; we shall not take him in as participants in good and bad, in prosperity or adverity (?) Simply, we shall not treat him as Kith and Kin.

2. "*Ulaguḍaiyanāyanār Tirumēnikku Nanrāga Elēsupeṛavēnumenṛu*"[3]

This occurs in a Kaṇṇanūr inscription of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I.

Ulaguḍaiya Nāyanār refers to the Lord of the land, the King and does not refer to any deity, as mistakenly rendered in some publications. "*Nāyanār*" "*Uḍaiyār*" and "*Perumāḷ*" and such other terms are, often, used in Tamil inscriptions both to denote the God, or the deity and the King.

Tirumēnikku Nanṛāha Ilēsupeṛavēṇum clearly denotes that the ruler's health or his physique was not in fine fettle, and hence the prayer was that he should get well, and for his wellbeing (*nanṛāha*) and that he should recover (*Ilēsupeṛavēṇum*) or that the wound should pass off lightly and his illness should be cured.

In colloquial Tamil it is even now exclaimed *Ilēsāppōcce* (Thank God, it has passed off lightly without any more serious untoward happening).

3. "*Peṇpiḷḷaigal Tāmattiyam Vandāl Āḍaiyum Māḻaiyum Tavirndu Tangaḷukku Nanṛāha*"

This phrase occurs in a Nārttāmalai inscription of the early 13th century.

The same inscription refers to the bridegroom's party or family as the brother's house (*Aṇṇan viṭṭil*).

Tāmattiyam (literally, doing away with flowers) or discarding flowers - i.e. when ladies attain widowhood, and no longer have marital bloom.

The subsequent phrase clarifies. On the day they discard cloth (*Āḍaiyum*) and gold (*Māḻaiyum*); it is customary in communities for women to discard colourful or costly or decorative apparel and also ornaments at the end of the obsequies on attaining widowhood.

The community assemblage proceeds to fix a levy of 120 *kāsu* as the contribution for each such bereaved to be paid to the temple.

It is even now customary in Hindu households on the last day of obsequies to pay a contribution to the family deity, family preceptor, and for the village-god.

4. "*Viḷaindu Arivāḷum Paḻudaiyum Pukka Nilattukku*"[5]

This occurs in a Viräccilai inscription while prescribing the scale of land-dues payable to the temple by the Kārāṇmai holder (occupant land-holder). It intends to convey the rate shall be collectable only

on lands which have come to yield.

Arivāl is the sickle. *Pāḻudai* is the hayrope by which the cut sheaves are bound, and taken to the threshing floor in times of harvest.

Literally rendered it means "the rate shall be leviable only for lands into which the sickle and the hayrope enter or could be taken."

5. *"Sādanattil Eṇṇai Uṇḍeṉṟu"*[6]

This occurs in a Pēraiyūr record. A dispute arose between the temple authorities and a sectarian leader who had been given occupancy rights in a field. The latter was asked to produce the original deed of tenancy, on the ground that the deed had some ambiguity or equivocality or unclear terms.

Literally rendered it means "on the ground that there was something oily in the grant-deed or document of tenancy."

Even in colloquial Tamiḻ it is sometimes exclaimed (sarcastically) "you had better see, pouring oil into your eyes" to say that one's vision is unclear or distorted.

6 *Tiruvengaḍattu Nambi Nir Sendāmarai Kaṇṇan (srī) Kaiyilē pul Eḍuttuttār Enṟu*"[7]

This occurs in the Tirumeyyam inscription on the temple dispute between Siva-Visṇu shrines therein.

The purport has been brought out in explaining the implication of this inscription in the studies on "Tirumeyyam" (vide footnote 9 thereunder) and also "Cases Civil & Criminal".

The colloquial form of expression fully brings out the sense of triumph or *eclat* of the Māhēsvaras on the vindication of their contention more so when the referee was himself of Vaisṇavite persuasion (and perhaps even a priest).

7. *Kolludal, Kuttudal, Vinai Kuṟaḷai (Suṇḍāyam)*"[8]

Here the terms seem to denote various kinds of offences, and appear to be arranged in descending order of gravity. Killing or murder, stabbing, acts of violence against person (*vinai*) are clear enough.

Kuṟaḷai – denotes tale-bearing or instigation

Suṇḍāyam – hypocrisy or meaning one and saying another or foulplay or cheat.

This has been explained in the study on 'Cases Civil and Criminal'. (pl.see footnote 7 thereunder).

8. A Rāngiyam inscription has the following: *Tulukkar kalahamāi engum kaṭṭāḷum piḍiyāmal parikarittu. vēṟu oruvar ivviḍangaḷil sīlayum nārum koḷḷāmal parikarittu, sevvalūrār aḍittukkoṇḍu pōna kanṟu kāliyum viḍuvittutandu, nāngal ingu irukkumaḷavum sōṟum pākkum āräindu engaḷai parikarittu'*

The purport of the inscription is to entrust the pāḍikkāval rights to the Rājasingamangalam township by the Ādanūr town-ship.

The phrase *"Silaiyum Nārum Koḷḷāmal" "Sōṟum Pākkum Ārāindu"* are characteristic and delicious.

The former perhaps refers to the protection extended to the womenfolk and how they were guarded against molestation by others. This occurs in the midst of other acts of protection to keep the township residents in security and by recovering cattle and calves lifted by Sevalūr people. 'Aḍittukoṇḍu' Should be rendered as a "lifted or driven away" and not "as beaten or killed".

The second phrase *'Sōṟum Pākkum Ārāindu'* is equally interesting and it is even now occasionally heard in villages to convey "provide food and sustenance"- or take under protection, giving the daily bread.

Literally it means "having looked after and provided rice and betel-nut".

9. *"Semmayir Kāraṇamāha"*

This occurs in a social dispute which was resolved. An interpretation has been ventured that this might refer to the ram-sacrifice in which the privilege for the primary share or honour was claimed.

This can bear a further check as the meaning is still unclear, except that the context might suggest this interpretation.

10. *"Muḍalaḍaivukku(m) mūnnmaḍaivukku(m) ācci tuḍacci mayil muṟaimai illai"*[11]

This has also been rendered in the study on "Kuḍumiyāmalai" (p. 98). The conclusiveness of the finding that there was no manner of right or claim sustained in the enquiry is clearly brought out in

this characteristic colloquial phrase "*Ācci tuḍacci illai*", perhaps meaning "neither in beginning nor in continuity is there any connection between the two". In other words, the link between the first service and the third was that between chalk and cheese.

11. "Pappum pāttu veṭṭivicca paḍiyinālē" ūrāga veṭṭrukira iḍattilē veṭṭi, kaṭṭukira iḍattilē kaṭṭi naḍatta kaḍavēn"[12]

These are again expressive phrases. The culprit had been in ambush (*Pappum pāttu*) and lying in wait to kill a person whom he was instigated to kill.

Struck by remorse (*Pāḻikāranākaiyālum, Āṛṛādu*) he could not bear the sense of guilt. On the Ūrār granting him asylum and entertaining him he promised to act as he was asked to, and abide entirely by what the township bid him to do. Literally it means "I shall cut where I am asked to, and bind where or what I am asked to bind".

It is, rather, amusing that the man, used to cut men, would not still discord the "cutting" though this latter was far more innocuous and not lethal.

The phrase "if he is asked to cut, he will also bind and fasten and bring" is still in use in Tamil (*Veṭṭikkoṇḍu vāvenṛāl kaṭṭikkoṇḍu varuvān*) to refer to a "cat's-whisker".

"The same inscription uses another expression 'Ēṛṛa Vaṭṭagai" to mean to "stand aloft, or aloof", in an independent or higher orbit, without being a part of and submissive to the Township discipline".

Some terms like "*Vaḻudalai*" for brinjals are consistently used, indicating "*katharikkai*" was perhaps a later vogue.

The inscriptions adopt a characteristically direct and colloquial style (*Kudutha Pogacē, "Engaḷukku oru Sēthiyum Illāmayāl" "Oru Pōkkillāmayāle" "Pulḷipukka", "Seyyavēnumenṛn*". This invests them with a true ring of every day experience The Phrases or idioms are expressive, and have a native flavour and spontaneity. These express ions are then the unedited escapes of their ready emotive response.

1. Tolkappiyam Sutra 452 2. P.I. 186 3. P.I. 250 4. P.I. 281
5. P.I. 393 6. P.I. 412; also S.I.I. Vol. XXIII No.163 pp. 130-131
7. P.I. 472 8. P.I. 618 9. P.I. 669 10. P.I. 815, 828
11. P.I. 880 12. P.I. 949

★

	of this type. In effect "By Command of His Majesty" occurring in both Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya documents.
Kōil	Temple; Palace.
Kshētras/Divyakshētras	The sacred places held in reverence by the Saivites or the Vaishṇavites, usually sung in the respective hymns by the Nāyanmārs or the Āḻvārs.
Kuḍi	Holder of land with occupancy rights; Occupant; Tenant; Resident; Household; Cultivating tenant.
Kuḍikkāḍu	Occupied holdings; Occupiable arable land.
Kuḍimai	Obligations due from holders of land or tenants under them including personal services to be rendered by them.
Kuḷam	Tank
Kuḻi	Pond; a minor source; also a land measure.
Kuḷapaṭṭi	Land endowed for maintenance of tanks.
Kumiḻi	Sluice, either of stone or masonry.
Kuṟṟam	Offence; Sin; Transgression.
Kuruṇi	A grain measure of 8 measures or *Nāli*.
Kuṟuvai	A summer short-term pre-monsoon crop.
Kūṟṟam	A territorial division.
Kūṟṟarici	Rice paid in shares by each holder of land towards community or township service.
Kūṟṟilakkai	Count of yield share due to a township or for services, in the form of a cluster, usually of produce like vegetables or other perishables.
Kūru	Division into groups; shares; or bits; or parcels; or ratio.
Kūttu	Dance; Hence Sānti Kūttu. A dance performed during festivals.
Lakshmi	Also known as Śrīdēvi consort of Vishṇu Goddess of prosperity.
Maḍai	Sluice (with or without shutters). Hence, Kadaimadai — Tail-end sluice

	Nadumadai	—	Mid-sluice
	Periamadai	—	Big sluice, usually at the deepest part of the tank bed.
	Sirumadai	—	Small sluice with a lesser extent to irrigate.

Madhu — Along with Kaiṭabha; Two demons who were vanquished by Vishṇu.

Madhyastan — Literaly Moderator; Executive of the Township; its scribe.

Maḍappuram (Also *Maṭhappuram*) — Endowment for a charitable establishment or Maṭha.

Mahāianam — An honorofix for Brahmin holders of land in a township used in later especially in Vijayanagar times. Also used sometimes to denote Vysyas.

Mahāmaṇḍapa — (Lit.) The big hall; The built - in hall for assemblage after entering the shrine ahead of the Sanctum-sanctorum.

Manai — House-site. Hence, Manai-Vari, tax-payable for house-site.

Maṇḍapa — The structure in stone or a hall or apartment in a temple or in itself independently.

Manittar Iṛaiyili — Grants tax-free or on favourable assessment assigned for the benefit of enjoyment by men (as distinct from God)

Maṇiyakkāran — Headman; Accountant; Township official.

Manṛāḍi — The person who is competent to participate in deciding cases or disputes; Shepherds

Marakkāl — Grain measure equal to 8 measures.

Marakkalapramāṇam — A deed for making over or assigning Marakkalam.

Maṛamudalis — The chieftains of the Maṛava clan.

Maṛavas — A clan of warriors-cum-agricultural holders.

Maṭha	A charitable establishment also run by a religious or sectarian head.
Mayilmuṟamai	An honour done in Temple.
Mā	1/20 of a *Vēlı*; Land measure usually adopted as the unit for rates of dues or levy. Hence, *Māttāl* equal to 33 cents.
Māhēśvaras	The priests in charge of a Siva Temple.
Mānabhōgam	Grant for priestly service.
Māṟgam	Doctrine; Sect, theological or religious Code
Mārkaṇḍēya	A sage; son of Bhṛgu.
Mēlādittāṇam (*Mēlādhishthāna*)	The upper plinth below the wall part in a South Indian Temple structure.
Mīyatci	A yield share from land due to the "upper" or landlord's rights.
Mudal	Capital; Fund.
Mudali	Head; Chieftain.
Munnoḍukku	Primary or priority honours done to a chieftain or other person of authority in a temple;
Munmariyāda (Also *anādi-mariyāda*)	Precedent or established usage; ancient custom.
Muṟai	Turn; Right in order.
Muṟai aḍaivu	Entrustment or assignment of turn-rights.
Muṟai viḻukkāḍu	Proportion due to a turn; or in order of turn.
Muṟi	Deed; Hence, Oppu-muṟi; Agreement deed.
Muṟṟūṭṭu	Full appropriation of the entire yield.
Muttarayan	A line of chieftains who ruled in the territory in between Pāṇḍya and Pallava Kingdoms between the 7th & 9th century.
Muṭṭu-muṟai	Turn or order in water-supply enforced at times of scarcity of water.
Naḍaipaḻi	Current revenge or retaliation for enmity
Nāḍuvar	Mediators; Arbitrators; Neutral persons.
Nagara	A township usually with merchant residents.
Nakshatra	An asterisk or planet, among the 27 in number in Hindu astronomy.
Nambimār	Priests.
Nambirāṭṭiyār	Goddess; Queen; Noble woman

Nattam or Natham	The village habitat; House-sites therein, residential area.
Natha Rēkai	The limits or boundary of housesites.
Navapratishṭa	A new consecration including a reconsecration of a shrine or a deity.
Navarai	A summer crop after the main crop.
Nāḍu	A territorial division below Vaḷanāḍu or maṇḍalam; A group or cluster of Townships of different descriptions, like Brahmadēya, Ūr Nagara, or Paḍaipaṟṟu, and hence usually heterogeneous in composition.
Nāḍu vagai-seydal	The survey and revenue settlement of the territorial area.
Nāḻi	A grain/liquid məasure of capacity; Also called Padi, 1/8 of a Marakkāl or about 3 lbs and 6 ozs.
Nāḻigai	A time-unit of 24 minutes: a day time consisted of 30 Nāḻigais and night-time another 30 Nāḻigais.
Nānādesis	An appellatton assumed by a merchant community or guild or clan who had spread extensively in the Deccan and South India and even in the Far East.
Nārada	A Divine Sage. He is paired along with TUMBURU usually in Hindu mythology; distinguished as musicians in attendance on the Gods.
Nāṭṭār	The body of authorised or assembled residents of the Nāḍu, in their collective capacity transacting business for and on their behalf.
Nāṭṭu-arasu	Chieftainship or title thereof, with control over the Nāḍu
Nāṭṭu-mariyādi	As per the customs or usage of the Nāḍu.
Nāyaka	The Governor under the Vijayanagar rulers; The dynasty of rulers among them with head-quarters at Madurai and Trichinopoly.

Nāyakkattānam	Governorship or military chieftainship.
Nāyanār	God; Saint; Saiva canonised saint; King; Chieftain.
Niccayippu	Determined or settled amount.
Niccayippānamudal	Capital or lumpsum determined as revenue payable.
Nilam Kalanda	Lands in mixed enjoyment, not divided by by metes and bounds.
Nindāstuti	Praise in the form of abuse.
Nirṇaya	Determined; settled.
Nivandam	Daily rituals; offerings therein; Scale of *pūia* or services and offerings; Persons entrusted with such services and obligations. Hence *Nivandakāran.*
Nīrili	Unirrigated; Dry land
Nīr-nāḻigai	Quantum of water flowing in a time-span of 24 minutes.
Otri or otti	Usufructory mortgage.
Paccai	Favourable or token levy on land held on eleemosynary tenure, due to the township, sometimes paid in cash. Hence, '*Paccai-Paṇam.*
Paḍai or paḍa	Wall part, above the Adhishṭāna or plinth and below the cornice in a South Indian temple structure. Hence, *Jagadipaḍai* the upper part of a stone basement of a temple; hence, *Kumudapaḍai*, the lower basement of the wall of the Garbagraha or Sanctum sanctorum.
Paḍai aḻivu	Destruction by army; or expenses of the army (*billetted*)
Paḍai paṟṟu	Township in which landholders had the obligation to render military service.
Paḍaivīḍu	Cantonment or Garrison station.
Padakku	A grain measure equal to 16 Nāḻis.
Palam	A weight standard in modern times equal to 1/40th of a vīsa or 34·5 grams. In Cōla

	times about the 11th century it was about 46 to 51 grams. (*Mensuration*) p. 93–94)
Paksha	Half of a lunar month or a fortnight or fifteen days. Hence, Sukla ro Pūrva Paksha the half month from the new moon to full moon, Also Apara or Kṛshṇa Paksha, i.e: from the full moon to the new moon.
Paḻi	Retaliation; An act of avenging (a wrong) or revenge.
Palisai	Profit or income.
Pallava	A dynasty of rulers who were famous patrons of rock-cut shrines from the 7th to the 10th century, who ruled with Kāncipuram as capital.
Paḷḷar	The agricultural tribe or tiller community.
Paḷḷi	The Jaina temple or sanctuary.
Paḷḷiccandam	Grant of land (usually on favourable tenure) a Jaina Temple or sanctuary.
Pandāḍupaḷanaḍai	According to the ancient custom in vogue or as of yore.
Paṇḍāram	A mendicant; one who plaits garlands.
Panjupīli	A share of the cotton crop delivered in the form of tuft or lint to the King.
Paṇṇai	Estate; Home-farm land under personal cultivation.
Paradēsi	A mendicant; Hence *Paradēsimuttirai* seal or acknowledgment of a mendicant authorised to receive contributions due.
Paṛayar	A tiller community who are held inferiors by the Paḷḷars. The Parayars eat the flesh of cow.
Parivādini	A kind of stringed instrument (Veena) with 7 or 8 strings).
Parivardana	Exchange of land or property.
Paṛṛili	Unoccupied land or holding.
Paṛṛu	Occupied holding or land.
Paṭṭana	A township of merchant community.

Paṭṭanasvāmi	A leader of the merchant community.
Pāḍikkāval	Village-watch
Pāṇḍya	A dynasty of rulers who ruled the Southern part of Tamilnāḍu with Madurai as capital.
Pāsipāṭṭam	A lumpsum miscellaneous revenue from the fisheries; fishery-rental.
Pātakas	Sins; Hence, *Mahā Pātakas*, Great Sins.
Pāṭṭam	Lease by auction; lease of common land for a fixed rental on the highest bid.
Pāṭṭapparṟu	Land held or occupied on lease for a rental, usually on the highest bid.
Periya tirumoḻi	Tamil verse contributions of Tirumangai Āḻvār, one of the Vaishṇavite Āḻvārs to the Divya–Prabandam.
Periya tirumaḍal	Tirumaḍal is a prosodic form of verses in which a love–lorn person unabashedly broadcasts his unrequited love. In the verses of Tirumangai-Āḻvar, a love-lorn lady is represented as lamenting the truancy of the Lord, Vishṇu.
Peruvaḻi	Highway.
Pērāḷar	Chieftains; King's officers.
Piḍāṟi	The village-goddess; Kāḷi.
Piḍinaḍattal	Circumambulation by a female elephant to demarcate the boundaries of a grant - village or a Township.
Piḍipāḍu	A deed of title or hold.
Pisānam	The main wet crop synchronising with monsoon flows.
Piṭṭamudu	A pudding offering made of rice.
Poli	Interest. Hence *Poliūttu*, expenditure to be met from interest. *Poliuttukkāsu*; The cash interest for sustaining an endowment. *Āttai Poliuttukkasu*: Annual cash interest to defray the expenses on an endowment.
Poṟuppu	A favourable assessment, paid by an under-tenure holder to a principal land-holder.

Pramādam	A tragedy; a crime; a violent incident.
Pramāṇam	Declaration; Deed; Assurance.
Prakāra	The circumambulatory passage.
Pudukku	Renewal; renovation.
Pukka	Wife; Also *Maṇavāṭṭi* (wedded wife).
Puṇai	Surety.
Punjei	Dry land.
Puṛakarai	The land on the exterior of the bund of a channel or a tank.
Purakkuḍi	Tenants or agriculturists domiciled from outside the township. Hence *Puṛakkuḍi-Vari*, the tax levied on such tenants coming from without.
Puṛavāri	The surplus course or channel flowing out of the tank.
Puravu	Part of ayacut or occupied fields in a demarcated command area; Tax-Register of cultivable lands; Hence, *Ūr-puravu*-tax bearing cultivable lands of a township.
Puravāyttalai	The head of the channel flowing out, or the surplus course.
Pūja	Ritual worship; Services for the deity.
Pūrṇimāvāsa	Full-moon. Contra: Amāvāsya or New moon.
Pūttoṇḍar	Tenders of gardens attached to a temple; Mendicants looking after temple gardens.
Quit-Rent	A favourable assessment on *inam*-lands fixed at Inam settlement in lieu of the reversionary right of the Government or to cure defective title, sometimes commuted into a one time payment, and at other times paid annually.
Rathakāras	A mixed caste usually from an *anulōma* marriage, father being from a higher caste and mother from a lower caste.
Rājadrōhi	Traitor; Enemy of King.
Rājakaram	Land dues payable to King.
Rāmānuja	The preceptor or Ācārya of Viśishṭādvaita

	philosophy, held as the founder of Vaishṇavism.
Rēkai	Written account; Boundary.
Rshabha	Bull, the sacred vehicle of Siva. Hence Rshabhakoḷḷil: The canopied pavilion housing the image of the bull.
Sabhā	The township organisation of a principally Brahmin occupied township.
Sabhai-Podu	The common lands held by the Brahmin-township and administered by the Sabha. Hence, also, ūr - podu meaning village-common, or lands held in common by the township.
Saivācārya	The preceptor of the rituals in a Siva temple and of the Saiva sect.
Saka Era	The era commencing from A.D. 78.
Sallēkhana	The ceremonial fasting unto death by Jaina monks.
Samayakāryam	A community or caste-transaction or deed.
Samayamantrins	The ministering guardians of a clan or social group.
Sandhi	The morning or evening worship and twilight services undertaken to a deity.
Sandhi-Vigrahapēṛu	A levy made for War and Peace.
Sangu	Conch (*Sankha* - Sanskrit)
Sarvamānya	A grant of all the revenue - proceeds from the township or land.
Sādanam	Grant deed, either in copper plate or engraved in stone inscription. (Sāsana - Skt.)
Salaiyūṭṭu	An endowment, the proceeds of which were to be used to meet expenditure on feeding the Brahmins.
Sāmantanār	The King's officer: Chieftain.
Sāntikkūttu	A dance performed in the street while the deity is taken in procession.
Sekkiṛai	A tax on the country oil-mill.
Sevvāi dōsha	The malevalent influence of Mars, the planet.

Sey	A field; A land measure; Two Sey making one *Mā*.
Sēnāpati	Commandant; Commander-in-chief.
Sidambu	Damage; Destruction.
Sīrmai	Tract; Territory.
Sivabrāhmaṇas	The priests in a Siva temple.
Sivanāma	The name assigned to a person when he obtained Siva-Dīkshā from a Saivā-acārya.
Sīma	Land; Area.
Simangalattirumadil	The auspicious circumambulatory wall enclosing the temple.
Smṛtis	Body of recorded or remembered part of Hindu scripture or Hindu legal institutes.
Sollukkaṭṭu	The oral syllables uttered to express rhythm.
Sōṛu	Food ; Food-levy.
Sōthimālai	A garland or string of lamps.
Sreekāryam	The executive of a King or the temple
Srībali	The ritual in a Siva Temple for propitiating the guarding semi-divines.
Srīdhanam	The gifted property for a girl given in marriage ; Women's property or share given by her parents.
Srīpādam	The service of bearing the Deity in procession or on a vehicle.
Sthalathār	The (responsible) residents of a Township.
Sthānattār	The temple authorities of a township.
Stūpa	Pinnacle.
Stūpi	The topmost ritual part of a temple elevation which includes generally the *Kalasa* or brass pot and the finial proper.
Sunai	Tarn;, A Natural Spring.
Sūlavari	The favourable assessment of lands endowed for Siva Temple demarcated by a trident (*Sūla*).
Svarāgama	The order or grouping arrangement of the seven svaras or notes a part to make a melody.

Svatantram	Rights ; Liberties ; Privileges ; Honour.
Svāmi	Master ; Lord.
Svamibhōgam	A token levy to assert the overlordship or ownership of a land by its owner.
Taḍi	Linear measurement of the area of the land.
Taḍi-Kuruṇi	Kuruni paddy delivered per Taḍi of field harvested as superintending fee for the representative of Temple or beneficiary.
Talayāri	Village-watch.
Tambirān	A junior celebate or monk of a Maṭha helping in its administration.
Taṇḍigal	Collectors ; Remitters of taxes and cesses.
Tannīrkuli	A water-source or pond.
Taragu	Brokerage ; Collecting-agency for communal or other levies ; intermediary.
Taram	Land classification according to productivity / fertility.
Tarā-Niṛai	Weight of copper articles or vessels or lamps, weighment by balance.
Tariyirai	The dues on the weavers' looms payable to the State or King.
Tattōrpāṭṭam	The bid-amount or lumpsum levy on the carpenters or goldsmiths due to the King.
Tāḷa	Beat ; Rhythm.
Tinai, Varagu	Horsegram, or Millets.
Timilai	A drum.
Tirugnāna Sambanda Pērilamai Piḷḷayar	One of the Saiva saints among the 63 Nāyanmārs.
Tirukkāmakkōṭṭa Nācciyār	The principal goddess in a Siva temple usually in a separate shrine.
Tirukkoḍi-Dēvar	The flagstaff of a temple deified.
Tirukkoḷkai	An ornament in silver adorning the Siva linga. A silver casement. (?)
Tirumāḷigai	The residence of an honoured person, preceptor ; or the King's Palace, the

	Temple.
Tirumeḻukkuppuṟam	Endowment for sweeping, cleaning a maṭha or a temple.
Tirumēr-Pūccu	Plastering work in a temple construction.
Tirumeypūccu	Applying sandal paste to a deity or anointing a deity with oil.
Tiru-Nandavanam	Garden set apart for supply of flowers or for the festive visit of the deity.
Tirunāmattukkāṇi	The land held in the sacred name of a (Siva) deity.
Tiruppadiyam	The sacred hymns and verses (sung in Tamil) by Nayanmārs and recited in the Siva shrine.
Tiruppaḷḷieḻucci	The ceremonial waking up of the deity at dawn.
Tiruppaḷḷiyaṟainācciyār	The goddess (deity) who is taken to the sacred couch of the lord at the end of the day's rituals at the last bed-time ceremonial.
Tiruppaṇi	Renovation; Addition; Building work.
Tiruppaṭṭam	An ornament.
Tiruppāvāḍai	The big food-offerings laid on a cloth and distributed after being offered to the deity.
Tiruttu	Reclaimed land.
Tiruvālattaṭṭu	The ceremonial lamp-service at the Sandhi Pujas.
Tiruvārādana	The daily worship in the Vishṇu temple or worship offered to a Vishṇu image by Sri-Vaishṇavas.
Tiruveḻucci	Festive-procession of the deity; Royal visit on tour.
Tiruveḻuccikkuḍimai	The customary obligatory service by the land-holders in a township and cultivators under them made to the king while on a visit.
Tiruvēṭṭai-tōppu	The garden for the ceremonial hunting festival.
Tiruviḍayāṭṭam	The land held in the name of a deity of a Vaishnavite temple.

Tiruvīdi	Main streets surrounding a temple.
Tiruvāykēḻvi	The speech or oral command of the King; The officer (in Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya Courts) who hears it and records and attests the royal command.
Tiruvāymoḻi	The sacred hymns of Nammāḻvār, forming part of the Divya Prabhandam.
Tiruvuṇṇāḻigai	The inner precincts of the shrine.
Tithi	A day in numeral order rockoned from the new-moon or full-moon in a fortnight.
Tīrvu	Termination; Settlement. Hence, *Tīrvu-muri*: A deed of termination of enmity, or dispute.
Tīṭṭu	Written deed; A demand notice.
Tuḷaippon	Gold; Coin (?)
Tulyam	Copy; True copy of an original.
Tuṇḍippu	Enclave; Bit.
Tūmbu	Spout.
Tūṇi	A grain measure of 32 measures or *Naḻi*.
Ubhayam	Endowment.
Ubhaya-Pramāṇam	A deed of endowment or an agreement signed by both parties-the donor and those who accept the endowment, or contract to perform the endowed service.
Uccampōdai	Mid-day ; Noon.
Uḍal	Corpus ; Fund ; Capital ; Wherewithal.
Uḍankūṭṭam	The body-guards (of the deity) ; The officials in close attendance on the King.
Uḍayār	Chieftains ; Princes ; King.
Udirappaṭṭi	A blood-grant to compensate for loss of life or injury.
Ulā	A form of Tamil prosody in praise of a hero.
Ulaguḍaiyanāyanār	The King or the Lord of the Earth.
Ulai	Furnace.
Uḻavu	Ploughing ; Cultivation ; Enjoyment by cultivation.
Uḻavukkāṇi	Land held as a holding for cultivation by

	tenants at will.
Uḷkaṇi-Ilakkai	The superintending fee for the temple servants. (?)
Umbaḷigai	A grant for maintenance of a retinue or for military service or fief.
Uri	A measure equal to 800 cc; 2 uḻakkus make one Uri.
Utsavar	The idol, portable deity taken in procession or for ceremonials.
Uvaccu	Piper service attached to a temple or township.
Ūḻiyam	Obligatory service; Personal service (to deity or temple or king or township).
Ūr	Township, usually of agriculturists in a specific sense. In a generic sense a Township of any variety.
Ūrār	The residents, those constituting the township in their collective capacity, and authorised to act for them. In a specific sense, the collective body of residents in an agricultural township.
Ūr Kaṇakku	The township accountant.
Ūr Srīkāryam	The executives of the Ūr or township.
Ūr-kīḻ-iṟaiyili	Land rendered tax-free by the township taking over the obligation to be borne from its common funds.
Ūral	Seepage; Self-irrigated by sub-soil water in the field due to percolation.
Ūraṇi	Pond, usually used for drinking water in the Township.
Ūraṇipuṟam	Grant/Endowment made for maintaining an *Ūraṇi* of public water pond.
Vaidyavṛtti	Land endowed for a village apothecary.
Vairāgi	An ascetic; A wandering mendicant.
Vaishṇavas	People subscribing to Vaishṇavism. Hence *Srī Vaishṇavas*, i. e. the responsible Vaishṇavas including priests looking after

	the temple and the upkeep of its services.
Vakrastuti	A praise through distortion.
Vaḻakku	Civil dispute: Also custom or vogue.
Vaḷanāḍu	A territorial division.
Valayas	A lesser caste or tribe of hunters who eat any animal; adepts in catching animals and birds in cages or nets.
Varaccāvi	Loss of crops due to drought.
Varga	Class; Group.
Vari	Tax-register.
Vari	Tax. Hence, *Sūrai-Vari*: Tax or levy to ward off pillage.
Varisai	A scale or schedule of cropwise dues, payable to the Temple by occupancy holder under it.
Varṇas	Castes.
Vaṭṭam	Cycle of turns in rotation (for irrigation or for services etc).
Vāḍākkaḍan	Fixed or lumpsum of land dues; immutable land dues usually under-taken by an occupant taking land for reclamation.
Vāram	A share-crop system; proportion of share which might vary.
Vāri	Channel; Also *Pilār*: Field channel or irrigation channel.
Vāriyam	A committee; or Executive Committee.
Vāṛamarakkalam	Also *Mārakkala-Sutantiram*: A privilege of receiving a marakkal of grain or a privilege of a fixed proportion per marakkal for measuring grain. A levy - rate of grain per marakkāl (?)
Vāsal-Kāryam	Officer or executive at the Gate of the Temple or Palace; An executive.
Vāttalai	Channel-head.
Veḷḷaccāvi	Loss of crop due to floods. Also *Nirccāvi* Loss of crops due to excess of water.
Veḷḷāḷar	Agriculturists.

Veḷḷānvagai — Lands paying revenue held by agriculturists or peasants.

Veṭṭimuṭṭāvāḷ — Contributory free labour; an obligation of land-holders.

Veṭṭipāṭṭam — A lumpsum bid in lieu of free unpaid labour obligation.

Vēdinai — Labour without fee; infliction.

Vēḷār — An agriculturist leader.

Vēli — Land measuring 20 *mās* or 6 acres 60 cents.

Vēṇḍukōḷ — Demand; Levy of service also in kind or labour, usually made by the King or the Nāṭṭār.

Vigraha — Image or idol of a deity. Also *Tirumēni* in Tamil.

Vijayanagar — The dynasty of rulers who were powerful from 14th to the 16th century and had Vijayanagar as their headquarters.

Vilaiyāvaṇakalam — The forum for public sale of land in the township.

Viḷakku — Lamp. Hence, *Nilai-Viḷakku*: Lamp with stand.

Viḻukkāḍu — Ratio; Proportion.

Vimāna — The spire; the tower.

Vinai — Act of crime. Usually occurring in the phrase; *Vinai-Kuṛaḷai-Suṇḍāyam.* Kuṛa'ai meaning instigation or tale - bearing, and Suṇḍāyam saying one and intending another. Trecherous; Hypocritical.

Viniyōgam — Distribution of obligation due. Hence,

- *Ūr-Viniyōgam*: Distribution of obligation due to a township.
- *Nāṭṭu-Viniyōgam*: Obligation due to the Nāḍu.
- *Vāsal-Viniyōgam*: Obligation due to the Royal Palace or temple needs.

Viṇṇappam Ceivār — Persons engaged to recite the Tiruvāimoḻi

	or Prabhandam in the Vaishṇavite temple and Tirupadiyam in Siva temple.
Visishṭādvaita	The philosophy expounded by Rāmānuja of modified monism distinguishing the Divine and Human entities. He set out the doctrine of the latter reaching to the former by His Grace and the surrender of his being unto Him with the aid and instrumentation of the path shown by the Ācārya.
Vīna	A stringed musical instrument.
Vīnādara	God Siva in his form of holding or playing the Vīna.
Vyavahāra	Civil dispute.
Vyājyam	Proceedings of civil dispute.
Yōgi, Yōgiyār	A recluse; A Sanyāsin; Also used to denote a priest in a Siva Temple who performs the rites and austerities.

A Table of Tamil Months and Rasi therefor and equivalent calendar months.

Citra	Mēsha	April–May
Vaikāsi	Rshabha	May–June
Āni	Mithuna	June–July
Āḍi	Kaṭhaka	July–August
Āvaṇi	Simha	August-September
Puraṭṭāsi	Kanni	September-October
Aipasi or Arpasi	Tulām	October–November
Kārtigai	Vrcciga	November-December
Mārgaḻi	Dhanur	December–January
Tai	Makaram	January–February
Māsi	Kumbham	February–March
Panguni	Mīnam	March–April

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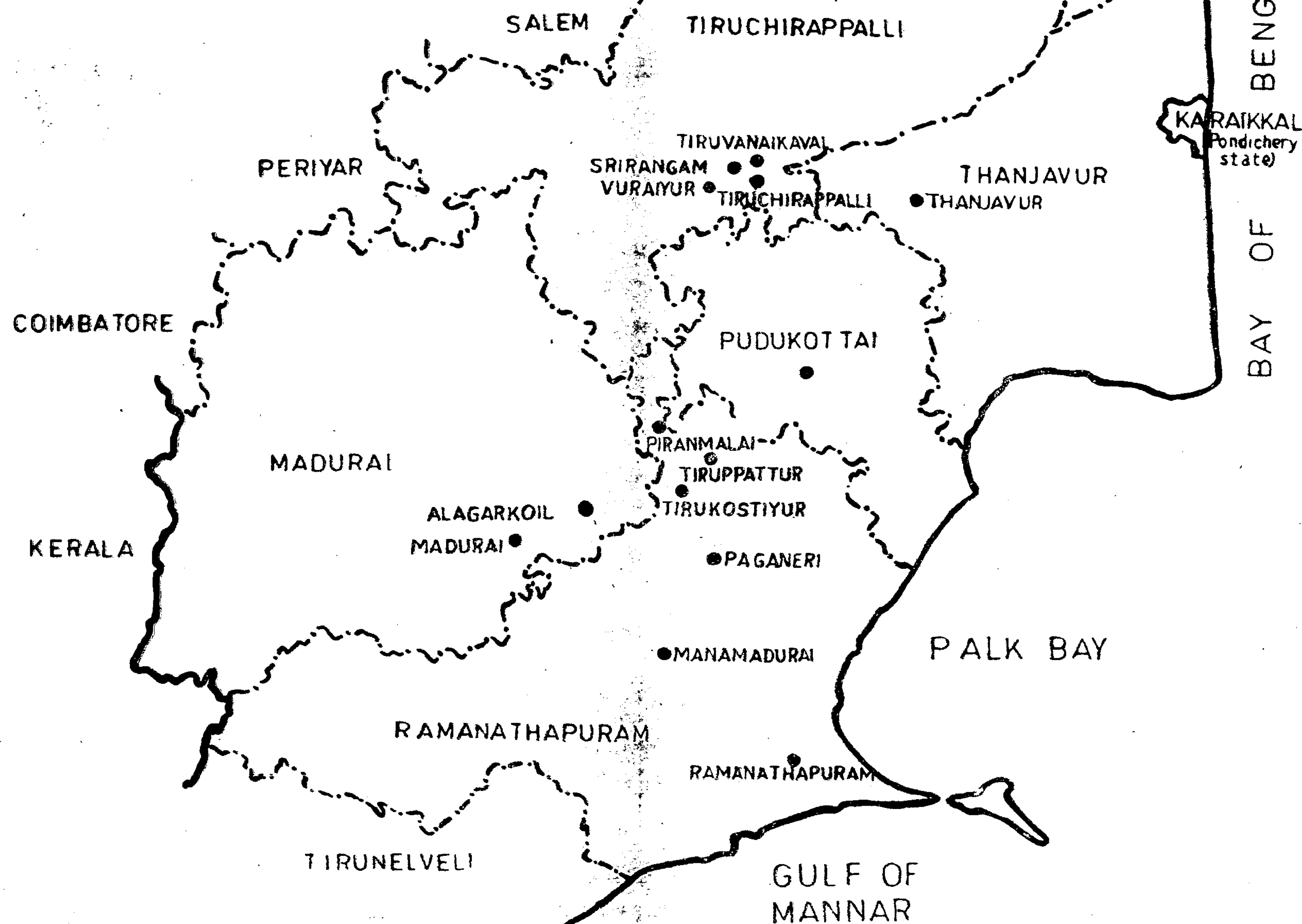
DEVADĀNA
BY ROYAL GRANT
IRAIYILI
LANDS RENDERED TAX FREE BY THE TOWN SHIP
ŪR-KĪḶ-IRAIYILI
Township bearing the obligation to pay land dues
IRAI KĀVAL
(TAX VIGIL)
capitalized deposits with township
DEVA DĀNAM
KĀRĀN KIḶAMAI
DEVA DĀNAM
KUḌI NĪNGĀ
KUḌI NĪNGĀ
KUḌI NĪKKI
TIRU NĀMATTUK KĀNI OR TIRUVIDAIYATTAM
KOIL-ULAVU
MURRUTTU
MIYATCHI (MELATCHI)
UN OCCUPIED LANDS
LANDS OF ELEEMOSYNARY TENURE E.G. TEMPLE (BENEFICIARY)
A
B
KADAMAI ALONE TO TEMPLE BY UR-KIL-IRAIYIL
KĀRĀNMAI TO OCCUPANT
KĀRĀNMAI TO TEMPLE
IRAIYILI
KADAMAI PAYABLE TO KING
KĀRĀNMAI
KĀRĀNMAI GRANT BY
KĀRĀNMAI TO OCCUPANT
KADAMAI GRANT BY CHIEFTAIN
KĀRĀNMAI TO OCCUPANT FIXED RENTAL TO TEMPLE
UN OCCUPIED LANDS
FULL SHARE OF RENTAL TO TEMPLE
FRACTIONAL SHARE OF RENTAL TO TEMPLE
KĀRĀNMAI TO TEMPLE
KĀRĀNMAI TO TEMPLE
MURRŪTTU OR DIRECT CULTIVATION BY TEMPLE
KĀRĀNMAI TO HOLDER - OCCUPANT
CESSES ALONE PACCAI OR PAYING LANDS
OCCUPIED LANDS AND HOLDINGS
LAND DUES MOIETY GRANT PURCHASED BY KARPURAVILAI
ASSESSMENT BEARS TEMPLE
TAX FREE (TO TEMPLE) DONOR (BUT THE OCCUPANT BORNE BY LAND DUES)
FREE HOLD OCCUPANT CONVERTS HIMSELF INTO OCCUPANT TENANT HIMSELF PAYING LAND DUES
LAND-DUES SHARE (BY PAYMENT OF KARPURAVILA TO KING) TO TEMPLE
UN OCCUPIED LANDS

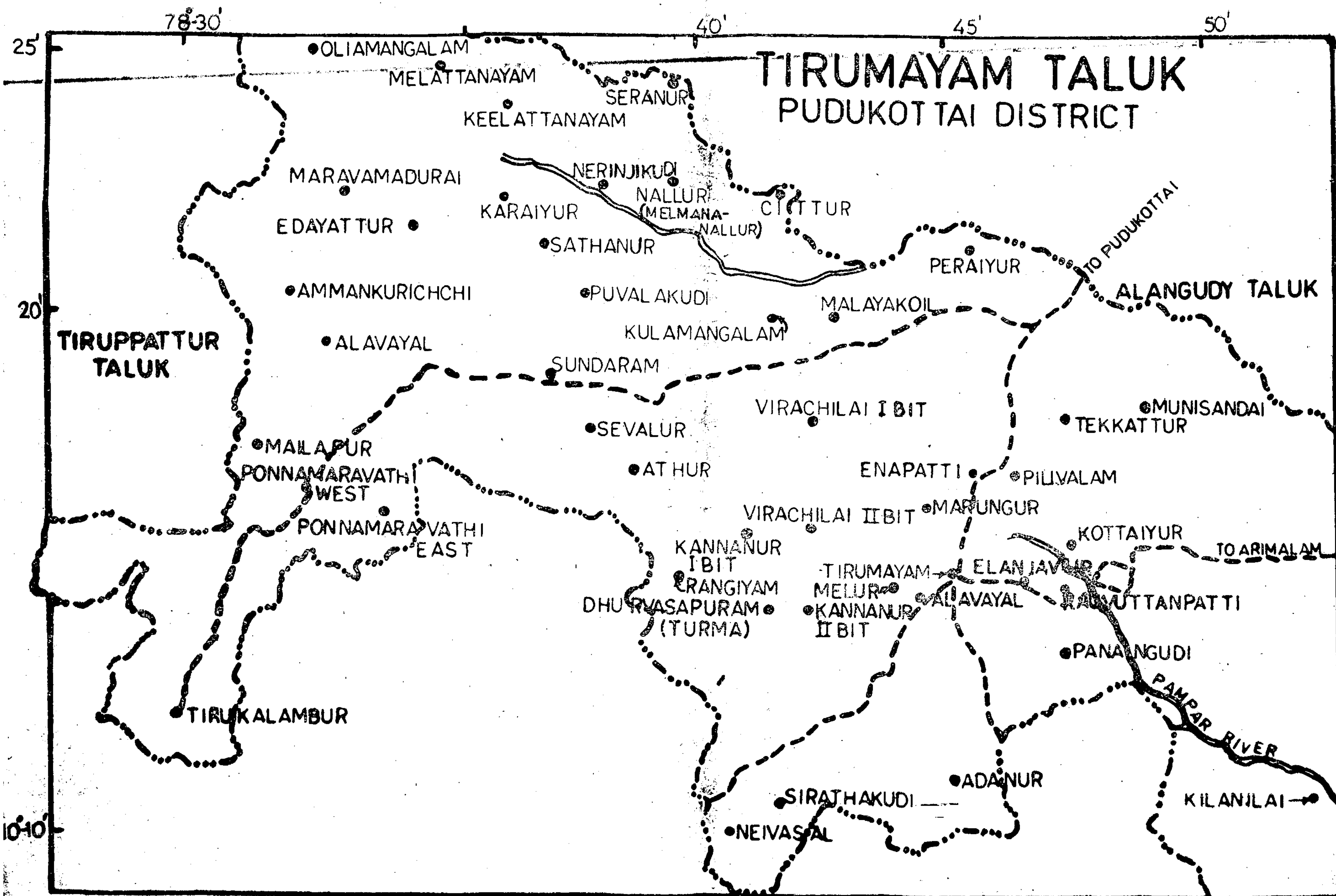
DIAGRAM SHOWING THE PATTERN OF LAND TENURES AND SUB TENURES AND THEIR OBLIGATIONS IN CŌḶA AND PĀṆDYAN TIMES

LEGEND

SEG. 'A' THE MANNER OF ENJOYMENT OR ALLOCATION OF LAND DUES OR KADAMAI

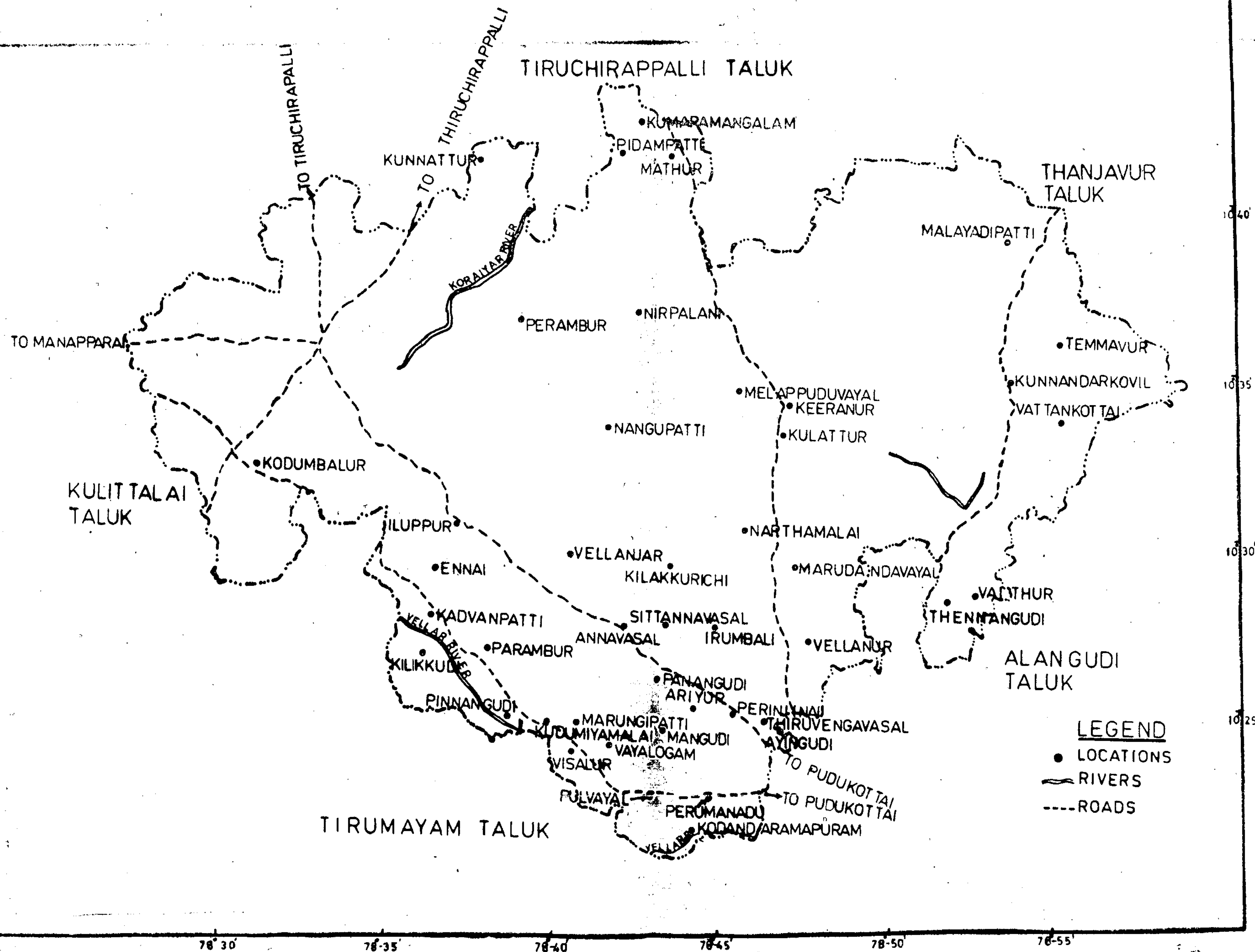
SEG 'B' THE MANNER OF ENJOYMENT OF OCCUPANCY AND HOLDING RIGHTS OR KARANMAI


PLACES OUTSIDE PUDUKOTTAI TRACT
REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT
SALEM
TIRUCHIRAPPALLI
PERIYAR
TIRUVANAIKAVAL
SRIRANGAM
VURAIYUR
TIRUCHIRAPPALLI
THANJAVUR
THANJAVUR
KARAIKKAL (Pondichery state)
BAY OF BENGAL
COIMBATORE
PUDUKOTTAI
PIRANMALAI
TIRUPPATTUR
TIRUKOSTIYUR
MADURAI
ALAGARKOIL
MADURAI
KERALA
PAGANERI
MANAMADURAI
PALK BAY
RAMANATHAPURAM
RAMANATHAPURAM
TIRUNELVELI
GULF OF MANNAR
11°
10°
78°
79°



TIRUMAYAM TALUK
PUDUKOTTAI DISTRICT
78°30'
40'
45'
50'
25'
20'
10°10'
OLIAMANGALAM
MELATTANAYAM
SERANUR
KEELATTANAYAM
MARAVAMADURAI
NERINJIKUDI
NALLUR
(MELMANA-NALLUR)
KARAIYUR
EDAYATTUR
SATHANUR
AMMANKURICHCHI
PUVALAKUDI
PERAIYUR
TO PUDUKOTTAI
ALANGUDY TALUK
MALAYAKOIL
KULAMANGALAM
TIRUPPATTUR TALUK
ALAVAYAL
SUNDARAM
VIRACHILAI I BIT
MUNISANDAI
TEKKATTUR
SEVALUR
MAILAPUR
PONNAMARAVATHI WEST
ATHUR
ENAPATTI
PILIVALAM
VIRACHILAI II BIT
MARUNGUR
PONNAMARAVATHI EAST
KOTTAIYUR
KANNANUR I BIT
TO ARIMALAM
TIRUMAYAM
ELANJAVUR
MELUR
ARANGIYAM
DHURVASAPURAM (TURMA)
KANNANUR II BIT
ALAVAYAL
TTANPATTI
PANANGUDI
PAMPAR RIVER
TIRUKALAMBUR
ADANUR
SIRATHAKUDI
KILANILAI
NEIVASAL

KULATTUR TALUK



Coinage noticed in Inscriptions and the period of their vogue

Name of Coin	Inscription No.	Dynasty	Period of Vogue
I Kaḻanjuppon	P.I. 19, S.I.I. Vol. XIII, No. 63	Pallava	Vijaya Nṛpatunga Vikramavarman 7th year, A.D. 866
(Kaḻanju) Tuḷaippon	P.I. 238, S. I. I. Vol. XIV, No. 50	Pāṇḍya	Māṛanjaḍayan, A. D 700 - 730
	P.I. 29, S.I.I. Vol. XIII, No. 213	Cōḻa	Rājakēsarivarman, 10th year Āditya(?) A. D. 881
Kaḻanjuppon	P.I. 86	do.	Rājarāja I, A. D. 1007
Pon & Kaḻanju-synonymous	P.I. 135	do.	Rājarāja III, 22nd year
Kaḻanju (gold)	P.I. 164	do.	Kulōttunga III, 31st year, A. D. 1209
Pon	P.I. 523	Pāṇḍya	Sundara Pāṇḍya, 14th year
II- Accu	P.I. 427	do.	Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya III, 4th year A. D. 1257
	P.I. 430	do.	do. do. 4th year
	P.I. 518	do.	Sundara Pāṇḍya, 10th year
	P.I. 521	do.	Sundara Pāṇḍya, 13th year
	S.I.I. Vol. XIII, No. 90	do.	Māṛavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya
	P.I. 984	do.	Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (?)

(b) Pancacalāgai Accu	P.I. 158	Cō̱la	Kulōttunga Cō̱la III, 27th year, A.D. 1205
	P.I. 376	Pāṇḍya	Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, A. D. 1268-69
III Draman or Tiramam	P.I. 125, S. I. I. Vol. XIII, No. 382	Cō̱la	Kulōttunga I
(of 5 mēni-specifies value)	P.I. 260	Pāṇḍya	Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, 5th year, A. D. 1221
	P.I. 262	do.	do. 6th year, A.D. 1222
(of 5 meni)	P.I. 265	do.	do. 7th year, A.D. 1223
Diramam	P.I. 292	do.	do. 15th year, A.D. 1231
	P.I. 293	do.	do. Do. Do.
	P.I. 317	do.	do. 20+2=22 yr, A.D. 1238
(Pa̱lankāśukku 7 mēni Diramam = 24 Diramam; Also Pa̱lankāśu occurs).	P.I. 318 - 319	do.	do. 21+1=22 yr, A.D. 1238
IV Kāśu	P.I. 61	Cō̱la	Parakēsarivarman, 20th year
	P.I. 71	do.	Rājakēsarivarman, Rājarāja I, 8th yr, A.D. 993
	S.I.I. Vol. XIII, No. 182	do.	do. do. 28th yr, A.D. 1013
	P.I. 90	do.	Rājēndra I, 21st year, A.D. 1033
	A.R.E. 380/1916	do.	Kulōttunga III, A.D. 1213
	P.I. 248	do.	

	P.I. 188	Cōḻa	Rājēndra III, 8th year
	P.I. 170	do.	Kulōttunga III, 37th year (Sale fo 6,30,000 kāśu) A.D. 1215
	P.I. 229	do.	Kulōttunga I (?)
	P.I. 281	Pāṇḍya	Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, 12th year, A.D. 1228
	P.I. 427, 430	Pāṇḍya	Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, 4th year 1257 A.D.
	P.I. 375	do.	do. 14th year, 1267(?)
	P.I. 393	do.	Māṟavarman Kulasēkhara, 14th year 1284 A.D.
	P.I. 486	do.	Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya
	P.I. 531	do.	Sundara Pāṇḍya, 27th yr. (49,500 kāśu)
	P.I. 605, P.I. 606, P.I. 607	do.	Vīra Pāṇḍya, 9th year
Palaṅkāśu	P.I. 249	Pāṇḍya	Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I,
	P.I. 268, 467	do.	3rd year, A.D. 1219
			do. 8th year, A.D. 1224
	P.I. 288	do.	do. 13th year, A.D. 1229
	P.I. 319	do.	do. 22nd year, A.D. 1238
	P.I. 509	do.	Sundara Pāṇḍya 9th year

(c) Naṛkāśu	P.I. 190	Cōḻa	Rājarāja II or III (?) 15th year
Anrāḍu Naṛkāśu	P.I. 136	do.	Rājarāja II (?), A.D. 1162(?)
	P.I. 266	Pāṇḍya	Sundara Pāṇḍya 7th year (?)
(d) Pudukkāśu or New kāśu	P.I. 529	do.	Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, 21st year A.D. 1237
(e) Anrāḍu Naṛpudukkāśu	P.I. 301	do.	Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, 16th year, A.D. 1232
	P.I. 367	do.	Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, 13th year, A.D. 1266
Anrāḍu Naṛpudukkāśu	P.I. 666	Hōysala	Vīra Sōmidēva, A.D. 1255
V Paṇam	P.I. 423	Pāṇḍya	Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II, 11th year, A.D. 1287
	P.I. 399	do.	Māṛavarman Kulasēkhara 18th year A.D. 1286
(a) Varaga-paṇam	P.I. 406	do.	Māṛavarman Kulasēkhara, 26th year A.D. 1294
	P.I. 415	do.	Do. 35th year, A.D. 1303
	P.I. 459 / P.I. 460	do.	Jaṭāvarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya, 12th year
	P.I. 462	Pāṇḍya	Māṛavarman Vīra Paṇḍya, A.D. 1371
	P.I. 486	do.	Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, 13th yr.
	P.I. 567	do.	Tri. Vikrama Kulasēkhara, 11th year

(b) Anrāḍu-Naṛpaṇam	P.I. 613	Pāṇḍya	Vīra Pāṇḍya 25th year
	P.I. 618	do.	Vīra Pāṇḍya 39th year
	P.I. 620	do.	Jaṭāvarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya, 5th yr.
	P.I. 624	do.	Māṛavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya, 6th year
	P.I. 685	Vijayanagar	Vīra Virūpanna-uḍayār, A.D. 1338
	P.I. 700	do.	Vīra Pratāpa Dēvarāya-Kurodhi year
	P.I. 969	do.	Dunmati year
(c) Vāḷāl vaḻi Tirandān paṇam	P.I. 439	Pāṇḍya	Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, 45th year, A.D. 1340?
	P.I. 440	do.	do. 47th year, A.D. 1342
(d) Vāḷāl vaḻi tirandān Guḷigai paṇam	P.I 454	do.	Māṛavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, 47th year
	P.I. 487	do.	Jaṭāvarman Rājarāja Sundara Pāṇḍya-dēva, 14th year
(e) do. Kuḷiśai-pon	P.I. 635	do.	Māṛavarman Śrīvallabha, 13th year
(f) do. Kuḷiśai-paṇam	P.I. 699	Vijayanagar	Dēvarāya I, S' 1343 A.D. 1421
(g) Seṇbaga kuḷigai paṇam (current)	P.I. 384	Pāṇḍya	Māṛavarman Kulasēkhara I, 4th year, A.D. 1272
(h) Kuḷigai paṇam	P.I. 441	do.	Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya III, 6th year, A.D. 1311
	P.I. 448	do.	Jaṭāvarman Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēva A.D. 1322

(i) Kuḷigai paṇam and also Siṟṟāsippaṇam	P.I. 644	Pāṇḍya	Sī(ba)ladēva .... lost
(j) Rāsippaṇam	P.I. 345	do.	Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, 3rd year
	P.I. 452	do.	Vīra Pāṇḍya, 40th year.
(k) Adūrapaṇam	P.I. 462	do.	Māṛavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, A.D. 1371
	P.I. 596	do.	Vīra Pāṇḍya - year lost.
(l) Cakrapaṇam	P.I. 801	Vijayanagar	S'1387, A.D. 1465
(Sakkarapaṇam)	P.I. 723	do.	Vīra Pratāpa - Narasingarāya S'1425, A.D. 1503
	P.I. 843	do.	S' 1440, A.D. 1518
(m) Anṟāḍu-Vaḻangum Sakkrap-paṇam	P.I. 903	Post-Vijaya-nagar	Īśvara year, A.D. 1637-38 ?
(n) Tirugōkarṇam Minnal-paṇam	P.I. 873	do.	S' 1591 - A.D. 1669

VI Varāhan

(a) Varāhan-paṇam (current)	P.I. 350	Pāṇḍya	Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya
	P.I. 406	do.	Māṛavarman Kulasēkhara, 26th year, A.D. 1294
	P.I. 421	do.	Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, A.D 1280
	P.I. 442	do.	Sundara Pāṇḍya - 11th year (Jaṭā-varman Sundara Pāṇḍya III)? A.D. 1331

	P.I. 476	Pāṇḍya	Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, 2nd year
	P.I. 479, 480	do.	do. 6th year
	P.I. 494	do.	do.
	P.I. 525	do.	Sundara Pāṇḍya, 14th year
(b) Varāhan-kuḷigai paṇam	P.I. 624	do.	Māṛavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya, 6th year
(c) Varāhan-paṇam (current)	P.I. 636	do.	Māṛavarman Śrīvallabha, 36th year
VII Sakkaram	P.I. 835	Vijayanagar	A. D. 1501
Pon	P.I. 726	Nāyak-	A. D. 1510
		Vijayanagar	A. D. 1517
Pon	P.I. 842	do.	A. D. 1597
Sakkarappon	P.I. 864	do.	
Pon	P.I. 866	do.	A. D. 1615
Pon	P.I. 867	do.	A. D. 1616

APPENDIX - II

COINAGE NOTICED IN THE PUDUKKOTTAI INSCRIPTIONS AND THE PERIOD OF THEIR VOGUE.

Numismatics is a discipline by itself. It will require a patient and deep study, the more so when the data available are restricted, to arrive at sustainable conclusions.

This note lists out the varieties of the coins mentioned in the inscriptions and the approximate period of their vogue with reference to the dates of the inscriptions where ascertainable. It also notices the varied nomenclature of the different kinds of coins noticed. It would appear several of these coins, and the 'old' and the 'new' issues had been circulating concurrently. Specimens of many of the coins do not appear to have survived, nor does the internal evidence help to determine the values of each; where conversion ratios can be deduced — such instances are rare, being few and far between — they have also been carefully spotted out and already indicated in the text of the book.

From the *uncorroborated* data culled and presented, the following broad conclusions can be deduced as pertaining to this tract :-

1. *Kaḻanju* (in gold) both in weight and as a coin was in vogue in Pallava, early Pāṇḍya and early Cōḻa times.

2. *Accu* was widely in use in the medieval Pāṇḍyan times, especially in the 13th century. Though it does not find mention in Pudukkōṭṭai Inscriptions a variety known as "Ānai Accu", (with an elephant on it?) was also in use. "Accu" again had different standards of purity, or nexus (?) — such as Pancaśalāgai (or Āru śalāgai occuring elsewhere).

3. *Dramam* of varied grades of purity or weight (mēni) that determined the nexus with the kāśu (ranging from 5 to 13) were in

use in medieval Pāṇḍyan times and they also occur in Kulōttunga III's inscriptions.

4. *Kāśu* was widely in use in Cōḻa and Pāṇḍyan times. In the reign of Kulōttunga III and Māṟavarman Sundara I, a new issue of kāśu seems to have been made which was perhaps in copper and its value was far lower.

5. *Naṟ-kāśu* has been translated as "good kasu". Could it also mean a "black coin" and equated with 'Kaṟum kasu". This is a pure conjecture and it can only be a hypothesis for further investigation.

6. *Paṇam* has come into wide use from the latter half of 13th century and had continued in its varieties, Kuḷigai, Rāśi, Cakra-paṇam in Vijayanagar times.

7. *Vārāhan Paṇam* also occurs from the latter half of 13th century, especially in later Pāṇḍyan periods.

8. *Pon and Sakkarapon* again come into wider vogue in Vijaya-nagara times and after.

It is hoped the note could serve as a useful sum-up of available data, and aid further detailed research.



APPENDIX III

SOME ASPECTS OF HINDU LEGAL TEXTS AND PRACTICES AS REFLECTED IN INSCRIPTIONS

In the study on "Cases, civil and criminal", it has been observed:

> "The correspondence and conformity where present, (between the dicta laid down in the Smṛtīs and Sāstras and the evidence presented by the case-studies) only indicate how the basic and general principles of the Hindu judicial system have sunk, and become an inextricable part of the texture of every-day experience in historical times. They had permeated deep down the life and the strata of the society, and seeped through the specific cases culled from the inscriptions"[1].

This note presents certain striking aspects of correspondence between the Hindu legal system as embodied in the texts and the everyday practice as brought out by epigraphic evidence from the Tamil country.

While in a number of instances corroboration is established in a few cases it is not. This note and the thoughts presented therein were evoked on a study of the lucid presentation of the legal position based on Smṛtīs and commentaries made by Sri Sankararama Sastri, a distinguished student of Vēdānta and Mīmāmsa. The reader is referred to Srī Sastri's Lectures on "Fictions in the Development of the Hindu Law Texts' delivered by him under Sri V. Krishnaswamy Iyer Endowment.[2]

1. TRANSFER OF IMMOVABLE PROPERTY

The Hindu law recognises six modes of transfer of immovable property (1) by the assent of the Township, (2) of the agnates, (3) of the King and his officers, (4) of coparceners, (5) by the gift of gold, and (6) by the pouring of water. Vigñānēsvara, the author of Mithāksara cites a text which reads as follows:-

> "*Svagrāma Gnāti, Sāmanta, Dāyadanumatinā C a Hiraṇyōdakadānēna Sadbhirgaccati Mēdinī.*"

The transfer of land effected with the assent of the Township could be of two kinds: (a) land purchased from them or donated by them, and (b) land held with occupancy rights by a holder transferred for consideration to another holder or to an institution or endowed as a grant. Townships even in historical times were quite zealous of retaining immovable property within their limits with the residents therein. They insisted, sometimes, on the prior rights to acquire the land Instances were not wanting where they even objected to a sale by one of the residents to an outsider. This could evidence the "closed" character of the community. It had to be well knit so that the collective responsibility of the Township for the payment of land-dues and the discha rge of land-obligations could be executed. This requirement was the more essential when lands were collectively held and not divided, by metes and bounds, on ground or when land was transferred from the village common.

Vigñānēsvara however, relaxes the rigours of the assent stipulated when he states:

> "*Grāmānumatih Vyavahāraprakāsanārthamēvāpēksatē Na Punargrāmānumatyā Vinā Vyavahārasiddhi*".

The consent of the villagers is required to give publicity to the transaction and not that the transaction is incomplete without the Townships consent.

While the gloss, thus, relaxes the requirement of assent of the Township, in actual practice very often Townships especially in areas of high density of occupancy or where land was valuable were chary of inducting unknown transferees. At the same time, the Townships welcomed opportunities for extension of cultivation or reclamation if any benefactor from outside undertook such acts, more persvadedly so, if they were chieftains having influence with the Kings of the realm. The documents of sale and gift recorded in temple walls also served the purpose of giving publicity to the transactions and the temple was a Township chancery preserving the memory of such transactions pertaining to the temple and sometimes other public endowments.

Mitāksara also clarifies that the soverign is to avoid boundary disputes.

"Sāmantānumatistu Sīmavipratipatti Nirāsaya"

There could be several reasons for securing the royal assent, or that of his officers. The epigraphic evidence is clear that no absolute grant of land dues or Kaḍamai could be made by any one other than the king or his officers. In all other cases that obligation had subsisted with the occupants, the donor or the donec, or the Township collectively. The Township could also take on this obligation as a *quid pro quo* for the deposit of the capitalised value of land dues.

Secondly. the Pāṇḍyan and the Cōḷa land administration had detailed accounts of occupied lands (*Puravu*) and demad registers (*Vari*). The transfers of land, particularly when they involved changes in tenures, and sometimes sub-tenures, had necessarily to be registered in these accounts. The registry also fastened the obligation on individual occupants to pay land dues or rental at stipulated rates to the beneficiaries like the temple, where such land-dues were assigned.

The Mitāksara considers the consent of the kinsmen and the heirs as the very basic sanction for alienation. Except under a legal necessity a sale of immovable property is impossible without such consent. This provides on index of the developed concept of private property and title and the interests of coparceners, agnates or legal successors-in-title, inherent at birth. Hence any transfer of immovable property had to reckon with and determine such rights or else the title of the transferee was suspect and liable to be contested. In a sense, wiih the developed sense of coparcenery interests, the rigours of the assent by the Township had become loosened. Thus Mitāksara attests the stage and evolution of property where individual and joint family property with coparcenery interests have become more widely established. Correspondingly, the earlier stage of community holdings of lands jointly held or in undivided or fractional shares (*Bhāga*) or of lands collectively farmed, the produce out of which was shared had been increasingly diminishing. Medieval epigraphic evidence fully bears out and reflects these legal characteristics of immovable property.

The last two modes - by gift of gold, or pouring water are interesting. Almost all the transactians of *sale* and definitely those of gifts

of land are described as having been made with or by (or through) pouring water. (*ūdakapūrvakamāi*) Some also specify"Sahiraṇyōdakam", that is, with token gift of gold and water.

These modes are attributed to a legal fiction. Alienation of land of immovable property could not be held as a valid transaction in the eye of law, without complying with this legal fiction. Mitāksara elucidates this point as follows:

HIRANYODAKADANENATI

> *"Sthāvarē Vikrayō Nāsti Kuryādạdhi Manugnāya" iti sthāvarasya Vikrayapratisēdhāt. "Bhūmim yahpratigrnāti yasca bhūmim prayaccāthi ubhow tow Punyakarmānow niyatow svargagāminow" Iti dāna prasamsadarsanānca Vikrayēapi Kartavyē Sahiraṇyamudakam datvā dāna rūpēṇa sthāvara Vikrayam Kuryādityarthaha".*

Since the time of Manu, it has been laid down that there can be no sale of immovable property. At best one may hypothecate it with the consent of coparceners. It reflects the inextricable bonds of attachment of landholders and residents to land and how closely they guarded the continuance of property within the Township community and the family. Even hypothecation will need the consent of coparceners. The right of first refusal was always for the agnates except for compelling reasons and it was seldom left unavailed. Indeed the coparceners or agnates were the legatees for the obligation for payment of land dues if they fell into arrears or were in default. The agnates were turned to first to discharge the obligation and only if they were unwilling or were unable to pay the dues, the community turned to others or themselves bought in the land.

At the same time, the economic elasticity of the community demanded land endowments. Another Smṛti Text laid down 'He who accepts land and he who gives it are both performers of a sacred act and are bound to attain heaven'.

The need for reconciling the two texts arose. Vignānēsvara cuts the Gordian knot by stating 'As a gift is highly commended, when a *sale* is to be effected of immovable property, one ought to do it *in the form* of a gift accompanied by the gift of gold and water.'

Thus a *sale* of immovable property (Sthāvara Vikrayam) had also to be expressed in terms of, and made in the form of a gift. To steer clear of the initial prohibition of alienation of *land*, moveabe property, gold and pouring water were also enjoined. What was impossible almost legally on a strict reading of the text has been made practicable by adopting this legal fiction and form authorised by the commentator.[3]

This explains the persistent format in inscriptions wherein sales were couched in the form of gifts accompanied by either gold or by pouring water or both, particularly in transfers of land made to deities or for other charitable purposes. The vendee somewhat curiously, not only pays the value of the land purchased from the temples but also endows it pouring water and sometimes making token gifts of gold.

II. WOMEN'S RIGHT TO PROPERTY

A swing from an absolute negation to an affirmation is also noticed in the concept of women's right to property.

" *Nirindriyā hiyāyādādāsca striyāh* ".

" Women are devoid of (control of) senses, and they are no participators " (in property).

But this rigidity got relaxed in course of time as Hindu law developed. It was again achieved by means of a fiction: namely, the identity of the husband and the wife. Man was considered incomplete and only half of himself.

Brhaspati advances this process and at his hands the identity leads to the concept of a widow's entitlement to succeed to the estate of a sonless husband in preference to other agnates. The right of widows to their husband's property when the couple had no male heir has become established by the time of Smṛti Candrikā (A.D. 1220-1225) Its author Dēvaṇṇa Bhaṭṭa quotes a supporting authority for the new concept from Bṛhaspati:

> "*Yasya Noparatā Bhārya Dehārddham Tasya Jivati jivatyardh Sarīrēārdham kathamavyah samāpnuyāt. sukulyayr vidyāmānaistu pitrubrātrusanābhibhihi asutasya pramītasya Patnī tadbbāgahārinī*".

Of him whose wife does not cease to live half the body continues to live. When half the body lives how can anybody take the wealth (of a deceased)? While agnates are living including the father, brother and cousins, of a sonless deceased man, the widow takes the share."[4]

Inscriptions of the 13th century attest the devolution of property of a sonless husband on his widow. The widow had the right to seek the agnates' protection and maintenance in return for the property thus left for their livelihood. (*Jīvanasēsham*). If the agnates declined to do so, they had freed the property of their subsisting reversonary interests and claims and allowed the widow to dispose of the husband's properties.[5]

Smṛticandrikā marked a definite advance in registering women's rights to property. But the Smṛticandrikā did not constitute the source of sanction for women's right to property. It had only registered the prevailing practice that had become established in the 13th century. It incorporated the *ācāra* (practice) that had become widely prevalent. In other words, the commentary was not the cause but the effect of the practice that had become established by that time.

It was but an easy extension of this fiction of identity between husband and wife to the identity of the father and the daughter and the latter's rights particularly to Strīdana properties. For the daughter too was a reprint of the father and mother. Inscriptions refer to instances not only of land but even to cyclical turns of service in temples as priests (Vaṭṭattāl-muṛai). Such rights to conduct puja services were also transferred to the son-in-law who married the daughter perhaps of a sonless priest.[6]

III. CIVIL AND CRIMINAL LAW

Sri Sastri has observed that the concept of *civil law* especially its substantive content was well developed and it was distinguished from criminal law. But no separate treatment of criminal law as such appears to have been made. 'The few references to it rather suggest the mixed civil and criminal character of offences. In most of the examples, transgressions of law entail not merely punishment of the offender, but a liability to pay substantial compensation

to the injured party. Yājnavalkya refers to defamation, rape, adultery, breach of trust and some other offences most of which come under the meaning of Sāhasa. But there is everywhere the preponderance of the idea of civil injury over that of a public wrong.[7]

This sum-up of the position in *smṛtis* is fully reflected in the case studies of civil and criminal offences made. The ruling concept was one of *Lex Talionis* (paḻi or vaira) till very late in the day, almost till the advent of the British judicial system and procedure. The concept of the King's peace or public order was palpably felt, but it did not develop into enforcable legal sanctions ousting the individual's right to avenge himself straight on the wrong doer. But social and communal protective instincts asserted themselves in the form of expiation before the deity after the act (vinai) in revenge had been done.

Recalcitrant elements were also liable for eviction; more so when the crime was against the deity or the Township.

IV. THE ROYAL COURT VERSUS THE COMMUNAL FORI

On this point Sri Sankararama Sastri has made the following observations:

> 'But the noteworthy feature in the ancient constitution of judicial tribunals is the singular lack of well-defined rules as to jurisdiction as between the royal and the popular courts. In Mediaeval England the existence of a certain well defined practice as to the limits within which the King's Bench and the Common Law Court exercised their jurisdiction accounts for the abnormal growth of legal fictions as a contrivance to enable them to encroach upon each other's jurisdiction. In ancient India, so far as can be gathered from the Smṛtis, there was no rule prohibiting a court of superior jurisdiction to hear and decide a case capable of being heard and disposed by a court of inferior jurisdiction. A court exercising appellate jurisdiction over a particular case can for the first time dispose of it as if it were an original court. A domestic litigation can be brought for the first time either in a *Kula* or any other superior court. Nor was there a difference in the nature of cases that can be decided by the King's Court and popular courts. But the popular courts gradually died out on account of the greater certainty of law

and uniformity of justice administered in the royal court. And, the restoration at a later stage of the village republics was due to the weakening of central government as a result of foreign invasions. Hence we conclude that there was no necessity for the invention of fictions in the strict sense of the term at any period in the history of Hindu Law.'[8].

A careful student of South Indian Inscriptions would demur to this general and wide statement, at least so far as the Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya country is concerned. This width and generality can be partly attributed to the unwitting import of the paradigm of the evolution of medieval English judicial system into the study of Hindu jurisprudance.

True, there was no distinction between the original and appellate jurisdiction of courts. Often the more heinous crimes were referred or "committed" to the court in which the royal officers as well as the Dharmāsana Bhaṭṭas participated and they determined the culpability of the accused. It is also correct to state that there was no difference in the nature of causes that can be decided by the King's court and popular courts. But the popular courts were co-existing and did not die out in the Tamil country "on account of the greater certainty of law and uniformity of justice administered in the royal court". On the contrary they were very much active throughout the period of Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya supremacy. It was not until the advent of Vijayanagar and Nāyak rule that their functional content became progressively eroded and thinned out. Strangely, the popular courts became eclipsed by individual authority after the weakening of the Central Government and after the Muslim incursions, but were virile in the Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya period. Hence the statement that the restoration of the village republics was due to the weakening of the Central Government could bear revision. The decline of both the popular courts and the central authority each, soon, almost, after the other, could be historically timed with the influx of extraneous administrative influences after the Vijayanagar times, and the economic and social stress that followed after.

The truth as it emerges from the facts of the medieval South Indian History seems to be this: that the tract presented a contrast in

the conditions of Township organisations and communal judicial system to other tracts of the Deccan and certainly so to the medieval England. In England, as rightly pointed out by Sri Sastri, the King's bench and the Common Law courts were functioning in parallel each vying to encroach on the other. There was also a *corpus* of King's bench decisions which were laying down the law.

In medieval South India the courts associating the King and his men (Sāmantanār) co-existed with the community Fori, of the Townships, of the Nāḍu, and even of sects or communities (samaya). The Smṛtis recognised the validity of their jurisdiction and encouraged their pluralistic development and authority. The King's court and the Community courts both derived their authority from the common source of Smṛtis and Dharmasāstras. There was hence neither any attempt on tne part of one to encroach on the jurisdiction of the other, nor did one contribute to the decline of the other[9]

The reasons for this divergence as between the historical facts and the legal literature are not far to seek. The *Dharmasāstras* and commentaries could largely be dated in the times of strong monarchies of the Deccan and the Northern India and were apt to reflect or even exaggerate the significance of the royal courts and glorify their function. Some of the commentators were learned men commissioned by the kings to bring out commentaries or who were functioning as counsellors to the Kings. They tried subconsciously at least to reconcile the texts with the practices and to build in permisiveness for the inevitable changing social and legal occurrences. In the process they also sought extensions of royal jurisdiction and discretion.

But the ethos of the Tamil country was different. The King and the court associating the royal officers were an important segment of the judicial system but only a segment. They did not grow like the enveloping banyan tree under whose shade no other agency or forum could thrive. On the contrary, the Cōlas and the Pāṇḍyas used the pluralistic community organisations for administration, including effecting community compromises in cases, civil and criminal. These organisations, for their part, were zealous of community interests and obligations and yet were willing instruments for executing the King's directions and the tasks assigned to them by him. Above all, the deity was held as a legal person, a fiction, and the offender's amends

were not complete without expiation before him. That expiation before the deity was as much an offering to the ineffable as an expression of satisfaction of the community conscience.

V. SOME ASPECTS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

The Smṛtis, including Manu, recommended the slaying of an assasin (Atatāyin) or a criminal committing a heinous offence, without the least hesitation, be he a preceptor, a boy, an aged man or even a well-versed Brahmin. No stigma is attached to the slayer. For wrath is met by wrath.

Gurum vā Bāla Vṛddhow vā Brāhmaṇam vā Bhusrutaam
Ātatāyinam Āyāntam Hanyādēvāvicārayan [10]

The use of the word 'Āyāntam' denotes that' "as he approaches he can be killed" implying that it was an occasion or cause for instant grave provocation.

The inscriptional evidence is replete with instances of such, retaliation or killing on provocation. "PALI" Lex Talionis, as already stated, was the ruling concept throughuot the medieval period. To repeat it was the established right of the individual to himself wreak direct vengeance on an offender, more so, when under great provocation.

Two other terms which occur in inscriptions are technical, and can bear comments.

A theft of jewellery and gold belonging to the deity of Kuḍumiyāmalạ̄i had occurred in the 2nd year of Vīra Pāṇḍya. The śiva-Brāhmaṇas, temple-priests and a stone mason were involved in it. One of the temple priests confessed to the guilt, implicating himself and his colleagues. But the latter pleaded not guilty and did not accept the implication in the investigational enquiry conducted by the Nāṭṭār and other community organisations. In the circumstances the Nāṭṭār directed the accused to appear before the Sāmantanār (the royal official) and the Dharmāsana Bhaṭṭas and convince the mon their innocence by aḍducing proof in the manner prescribed by them.

The words used in this context are:
"Angu vidittapaḍi pratyam paṇṇungōḷ".

Vidhi has a technical meaning, to "command", "pronounce" or "prescribe".

The term *"Pratyam"* (corrupt for pratyayam - Sanskrit meaning proof, conviction), clearly denoted that the priests who averred that they were not guilty should adduce proof and convince the Dharmāsana Bhaṭṭas and the Sāmantanārs. Consequently the burden of proof is on those who asserted that they were not guilty. The Bhaṭṭas and the Sāmanta put the accused priests through an ordeal in which they were worsted and were found to be guilty and treacherous to the Lord (Siva-drōhi) and (Nāṭṭu-drōhi) the Nāḍu The phrase should then be correctly rendered as "You shall adduce proof and convince them in the manner prescribed by the Sāmantanār and Dharmāsana Bhaṭṭas.

The inferences to be drawn from this case are the following. Firstly, in medieval South India the accused had no presumption that he might be deemed to be innocent until and unless his guilt was proved. The position was the very reverse of the modern criminal procedure Secondly, or even consequently the burden of proof unlike the modern criminal procedure, again, was not on the prosecution but on the accused.

In this theft case at the enquiry stage a *prima facie* implicated confession by one of the accused was considered sufficient to commit the others Siva-Brahmanas to a forum associating the royal Officer and the Bhaṭṭas. Secondly, it was left to the latter to decide on the procedure for adducing proof or a mode of proof. Thirdly, that burden of proof had to be discharged by the temple priests who pleaded not guilty. Perhaps in the nature of the offence, no clinching independent evidence could be had. The crime being of a grave nature, and in the circumstances of the case, the accused were directed to prove or convince (the court) by undergoing ordeal. The term 'Pratyaya' also, it may be noted, is used both in the context of civil and criminal cases - in the sense of one who avers and has to adduce proof to convince the Court of his claim/of title or innocence.[11]

Foot Note

1. Vide p. 326.
2. "Fictions in the Development of the Hindu Law Texts" by Sri C. Sankararama Sastri, printed at the Vasanta press, Adyar. (1926)
3. pp. 27-29 "Fictions" op. cit. Also Mitaksara of Vignanes vara commentary on Yagnavalkya Smirti Vyavahara Khanda under Dayavibhage prakarana. Introduction pp. 219–220 (Nirnayasagar Press Edition).
4. p. 207 ibid.
5. Vide the Author's "Rajendra Vinnagar" p. 37-39 and also pp. XXII to XXV of Appendix II ibid. A.R.E. 401/1916.
6. pp. 226-227 ante in the Test.
7. "Ficitions" p. 37
8. p. 44-45 "Fictions" ibid.
9. On this please see pages 319-321. *supra*
10. p. 127 "Fiction"
11. pp. 186-187 in "Fictions" please see the quotation from Katyayana and from Harita, where the use of the word "pratya" and Pratyarti" occurs.

APPENDIX IV

The Ponnamaravati Inscription of Sundara Pandya-A new interpretation.

P. I. 513 is an inscription from Cōlēśvarar temple at Ponnamāravati dated 8th year (Aṟpasi month October-November) of Sundara Pāṇḍya. It was a royal command (Aruḷicceyal) addressed to the temple authorities of the several temples in Ponnamarāvati area (Paṟṟu). The passage rendered literally at page 152 is clarified and interpreted below. The operative text reads :

" *Tangaḷ Nāṭṭu Tirukkōil Tirumuṟṟam kaḷil Nām*
Pōyirunda Iḍangaḷukku Ponnamarāvatiyil
Iḍangaimīkāmanil Taṇṇīr eḍukka vēṇḍām enru sollivittōm "

The text adds that this may continue to be in force for all time, and may be caused to be engraved in stone and copper plates. Munayadaraiyan signed it and it was enjoined on the Pan-māhēsvaras to protect it.[1]

Dr. A. Appadurai renders this passage as follows:-

"In 1259 A.D. we have an order from King Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva to the temple authorities not to take water from Iḍangaimikāman for purposes of irrigation."[2]

The Pudukkottai Manual also states that "a Sundara Pāṇḍyan while settling an irrigation dispute forbade the temple authorities to take water from Iḍankai-mikāman Tank".[5]

A careful reading of the operative text of the Inscription quoted above would reveal that it can bear a different interpretation. The text does not, in itself, refer nor does it bear out any irrigation dispute.

From the fact that the royal command was addressed to the temple authorities of Ponnamarāvati it could be surmised, perhaps, that the cause of action arose from representations made by them to

the king. Again from the passage that the privilege resulting from the command shall be enjoyed in perpetuity, that it might, be got engraved in stone and copper-plate, and that it was subscribed to by a royal official and was to be protected or safeguarded by the Panmāhēsvaras (the temple priests) it could be legitimately inferred that this was a privilege or right for use of water created in favour of the temple authorities.

What then, was the purport of the command? It can be translated as "when the king visited the temples and the temple precincts in your Nāḍu, for such places to which we went (Nām pōyirunda iḍangaḷukku) water need not be taken from Iḍangaimīkāman (a water source or pond) in Ponnamarāvati."

This might imply that the Iḍangamīkāman was a water source (for good water) being all along utilised for the temple uses. When the King and the entourage visited these places, the demand for royal camp might have been far in excess of the capacity of the source to meet in addition to meeting the prescriptive temple uses. Hence the King had forbade his men from taking water from that source for meeting the needs of the royal camp so that the temple uses may be subserved unimpeded. The term "Sollivittōm" clearly denoted the King had told (his men) not to take water from that source. It was the King's categorical command.

Ponnamarāvati lies in the south-western tip of Tirumayyam and the soil is red ferruginous and water conservancy, particularly until the north-east monsoon sets in full vigour usually in October-November, or when it was but weak, would have been a felt need.

Hence this interpretation of the text, relying on its exact wording with the contextual support internally available sounds plausible. On this interpretation the word "they" should refer to the King's retinue or entourage. The command, then, was not one of restraint of water use on the temple authorities but of self-restraint on the camp use of water from a specified source during the royal tour in deference to and to meet the needs of the temple. This inscription, thus did not abridge but preserve the temple rights to take water unimpeded, even, by needs of royal camps and entourage.

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1. P. I. 513.
2. Ec. Conditions in S. India, Vol I-p. 229.
3. P. M. II Pt. II p. 1185.

APPENDIX V

Some pastimes in the ancient townships (as gleaned from inscriptions)

How did the Township Communities spend their leisure? What were their diversions or pastimes? We are not without evidence on this aspect of their life. The festivals in temples were almost recurring every month. The principal festivals were on Tiruvādirai asterisk in Thai, the Makha in Māsi, Uttiram in Panguni and Visākham in Vaikāsi and in the month of Citrai as at Veḷḷanūr.[1] There were also festivals conducted in the months of Kārtigai and Āvaṇi,[2] and at Neivāsal there was a waking-up festival[3] (Tirupaḷḷi-yeḻucci). The festival in Mārgaḻi would have been the annual feature associated with the recitals of Prabandam in Vishṇu shrines and of Tēvārams and Tiruppadiyam in Siva shrines.[4] Hunting festivals when the deities were taken out to a grove or a garden as at Kuḍumiyāmalai[5] and at Kāraiyūr[6] also enlisted the community participation when the householders had each a torch lit in the frontage of the house and assembled in full strength. Apparently the deity taken out on his outing for the hunt would not be returning to the temple before it was nightfall. Almost every village had its own temple festivals and the resident members of the community took a day's festival each on himself and defrayed the expenditure as at Vijayālaya-cōḻīśvaram.[7] The festivals at Ponna-marāvati[8] and at Kīranūr[9] were also popular. It was as much an obligation of, as a pleasure for the residents to render services in festivals. These have been already indicated in the reconstructed accounts of the townships. Religious merit as much as social mirth and pleasantries were undoubtedly sought and achieved through such participation. On such festive occasions special food offerings were also made to the deity and were distributed among the participants, especially in Vishṇu temples.

There were also dances (Sānti Kūthu)[10] in the streets and in the junctions as the deity was taken in a procession. Music from nādas-varam (Uvaccu) was an essential accompaniment and never missed.

The art was fostered particularly in Tirumayyam, Kuḍumiyāmalai and Malaikōil and other places where the musical exercises were even engraved on stone for instruction. Assiduous practice and exercise could be presumed for the performance to earn the appreciation of the community when displayed in festivals. When temples expanded separate halls for dance (Nṛtta maṇḍapa) were built[11] as at Nāngupaṭṭi in the temple of Tirupperumānāṇḍār.

In the 30th year of Kulōttunga III (A.D. 1208) the Ūrār of Kūḻaikuḷattūr and the Sthānathār of srī Sundaracōḻīsvaramuḍaiyār met and laid down the turns day by day for the duties to be performed by each of the several dancing girls attached to the temple.[12]

Their duties included rendering songs (Tiruppāṭṭaḍaivu), to display the auspicious plate (of lamp, or of a mixture of turmeric powder and of chunam) before the deity (to word off the evil eye), (Tiruvālataṭṭu), and also of personal attendance (Meykāṭṭaḍaivu), for dance poses(?) and Tiruccūlam in that order. The turns assigned were as below :

I day's turn	Māṇikkam and Tiruvambalapiriyāḍi alias Satrukālamāṇikkam
II day's turn	Ammaiāḻvi alias Arputhakūthamāṇikkam and Nācciāḻvi alias Villavataymāṇikkam
III day's turn	1. Sundara.........māṇikkam 2. her daughter Gaṇavati alias Kulōttunga Cōḻa māṇikkam 3. Pollādapiḷḷai alias Tirugnānasambanda māṇikkam and 4. ....Kōyilmāṇikkam
IV day's turn	Vaḷḷi alias Rājagambhīramāṇikkam
V day's turn	Atko......māṇikkam and Tiruccirṛambala māṇikkam
VI day's turn	Ammaiāḻvi alias Tiruvennāval māṇikkam and Tirukkaḷirṛupaḍi māṇikkam

VII day's turn Perr.........cōlamāṇikkam and Kūttādunācciyār alias Tirunaḍampurinda māṇikkam.

The inscription proceeded to specify the turns assigned to several of the dancing girls for displaying the auspicious plate Tiruvālatti during festivals but this portion is defaced. Generally there were two service-holders (kuḍi) assigned per day and occasionally, as on the third day's turn, even four.

In A.D. 1396 Srīranganāyaki, a danseuse had been assigned at the instance of one Tiruvanandan, resident of Vilaisey the first turn in the temple of Srī Aḻagar at Ponnamarāvati. She was a first-rate dancer too, and ascended the dais and danced so well that the audience highly appreciated the performance. The accomplished danseuse was celebrated in a verse and she was instantly allotted one mā of land from out of the temple-endowed lands as Sēnāpati-tirukkaivaḻakkam to express the approbation of the township and the deity. The temple priest and the temple-accountant conveyed the grant (Mudalaḍaivum peṟṟē arangēṟi avai madikka āḍinālē.)[13]

Instrumental music was daily in attendance in Kunnāṇḍārkōil, a master of the instruments (Vādyamārāya) was granted 1-½ mā of land so that he could receive his wages at 10 nāḻi of paddy per day. This was in A.D. 1217 or the 39th year of Kulōttunga III.[14]

The village bard was often at service or in attendance; some of them were even peripatetic. Verses in praise of deities, dancers, benefactors, builders, chieftains and communities were composed, rendered and inscribed. As many as 25 Tamil verses could be collected from Pudukkottai inscriptions. They occur in several places but many in Kuḍumiyāmalai.[15] Other places also contribute-Ponnamarāvati,[16] Durvāsapuram,[17] Ammaṇkuricci,[18] Iḍaiyāttūr,[19] Ālanguḍi,[20] Kārayūr,[21] Tiruvarangulam,[22] Pērāmbūr,[23] Rāngiyam,[24] and Veḷḷanūr.[25] A verse in Sanskrit occurs at Tiruvarangulam.[26] There were many who 'lisped in numbers', as 'the numbers came', and were rewarded.

In A.D. 1145, 13th year of Kulōttunga II, Marudattūruḍaiyān Kuṇṟan Tiruccirrambalamuḍaiyān of Kulattūr in Jeyankoṇḍa Cōḻa

maṇḍalam, a native of Toṇḍaināḍu had composed an eulogistic verse on Tirucciṟṟambalamuḍaiyān Vēdavanamuḍaiyān of Payyūr in Uṟattūr kūṟṟam in Vaḍakōnāḍu. The poet was rewarded by the patron by a land-grant. The poet endowed the land so granted to the deity at Maḍathukōil. Apparently he had reasons to be grateful to the deity for the good fortune that had attended his peregrenation down south to Maḍathukkōil. His talent has been exhibited in a verse he had composed praising the village Payyūr and its chieftain, his patron. It is inscribed in the temple.[27]

The Muse was also invoked to rouse the martial ardour and spur the warriors to heroics. At no time was this more in demand or in evidence than in the reign of Māṟavarman Sundarapāṇḍya I who successfully wrested the Pāṇḍyan supremacy taking fire and sword into the Cōḻa country and anointing himself as the conquerer and emperor at Muḍikoṇḍa-cōḻapuram, the Cōḻa capital. In his twelfth year (A.D. 1228) the Maṟamāṇikkar i.e. the heroes of the Maṟava community in Ponnamarāvati and other places were entertained to a recital of Pēr Vaṇji or (Peruvanji).[28] This, in Tamil prosody, is a form of composition celebrating the exploits of destruction, carrying fire and brimstone into the territory of an enemy king who would not submit and surrender to the challenging conqueror.[29] Presumably in the instant case this war song was composed in praise of the conquering Pāṇḍya hero, Sundara himself. And the warriors were the participants in his victorious march into the Cōḻa country. The bard, Tiruvaraṅguḷamuḍaiyān was amply rewarded. He was decorated with a title 'Maṟacakravartipiḷḷai' and also granted a wet land in Tūttikuḍi together with some dry land abutting it as a taxfree holding, the Maṟavas themselves bearing the land dues thereon. One half of the land was to be enjoyed by the bard and the other half by Tamiḻadarayan and three others. In return, Tiruvarangulamuḍaiyān was also appointed to render the 'Iyal' before the Vishṇu deity of Ponnamarāvati.[30]

The deity of Ponnamarāvati again lauded the singing of the Prabhandams of 'our' Saṭagōpan (i.e. Tiruvāimoḻi of Nammāḻvār) (Nam Saṭagōpan pāṭṭu Kēḷāniṟka) by one Tiruvanandāḻvan Paḷikai Dēvaruḷidāsan of Ātrēya Gōtra, a Sanyāsin (Kōvaṇavan) attached to the temple. He was granted the proceeds from 3/4th of the hamlet

of Maṇattār alias Sangāyipuram which was a division of Mūlanguḍi in the same nāḍu in A.D. 1449.[30]

The tradition of celebrating victorious princes in song and verse had continued. On the 30th day of Thai in Roudri Year while a poet Pāṇḍikkavirāsar sang rendering a Vīramālai[32] in the presence of Tittāriyappa, a kāryakarta of Vengalappa nāyakkar, the bard was awarded a land named Vēmbaḍipulavarsey (with an extent transplantable by five persons) tax-free in Maṛavanēri ayacut.[33]

The day's toil at field and in battle had its recompense. Valour was roused and its achievement was praised. Pastimes varied with the avocations of the people. If the deities were taken on a hunt, it was only extending and ascribing to Him what men in their everyday life did, to go out into the scrub jungle, or the forest on the verge of the cultivated holdings and hunt out the beasts which damaged the crops, or dart at the rabbit, and catapult at the lizard, or net the bird for a pet or for the pot.

Pursuits, peaceful or scholastic, had also their pastimes-of song and dance, hearing recitals from classics or verses composed extempore. In rhyme and rhythm, and occasionally, with a true literary flash or flourish, the village bards would eulogise gods and men. Tamil literature was in every day vogue, and its prosody was practised as a habitual but intense form of expression. The mey-kīrtis or the heroic verses set out the exploits of the Cōḻa and the Pāṇḍya heroes, often in conventional panegyrics, but occasionally also with literary merit. The euphony, the sound effect of rhythm and rhyme and balance and the embellishments in live native idiom had a strong appeal to the versifier and reciter and to his audience. As against the few samples preserved in the inscriptions, the actual volume of the improvised verses should have been prolific indeed. The art was also widely prevalent, the more so in comparatively richer townships with irrigated paddy fields in which the carp ever throve on honeyed water. Water in the fields would never dry up, nor the bard's fancy which would add (with permissible hyperbole) arecapalms in bloom dripping honey, amber and sweet. It would adore the patron, who would never put off the bard for the morrow for the meed and his township, which was elysian.

"Vāḷai Vayiṛu niṛaya maḍaṛ kamugam
Pāḷai Pasum Tēn Oḻukkum Payyūrē
Nāḷai yenṛu Seppāda Vāymayān Vēdan Tirumanunū
loppānem kōmān tannūr"[34]

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1. P.I. 320
2. P.I. 649
3. P.I. 331
4. P.I. 98
5. P.I. 190, 290, 291
6. P.I. 997
7. P.I. 282
8. P.I. 131
9. P.I. 237
10. P.I. 128, 139-Tiruvengaivasal; P.I. 152-Tirumananceri
11. P.I. 105
12. P.I. 162
13. P.I. 781 Grants expressed as the command of the deity were usually made in the name of and at the hands of Senapati (Senai mudaliyar) who controls the household as the master of the Vishnu temple analogous to Candesvara in a Siva temple. Senai mudaliyar is also known as Visvaksena.
14. P.I. 175
15. P.I. 673, 674, 675, 676, 678, 679, 1092
16. P.I. 677
17. P.I. 795
18. P.I. 992
19. P.I. 994
20. P.I. 1025
21. P.I. 998
22. P.I. 1067
23. P.I. 1115
24. P.I. 1010
25. P.I. 115
26. P.I. 1068
27. P.I. 129
28. P.I. 278
29. Pl. see pp. 95-96 'Sasana Tamilkavi Caritam' by Prof. M. Raghava Iyengar (1961). On Pervanji the Purapporul Venbamalai has 'Munnudaiyar Valanattai, Pinnarumudan rerikolie Iyanru' (Purap. Ven. 3-57).
30. Iyal consisted of nearly 1000 verses in Divyaprabhandam which were not sung with beats, and consisted of the following: (i) The Tiruvandadi of the 4 Alvars Poygai, Pudam and Peyar and Tirumalisay; (ii) The Tiruviruttam, Tiruvaciriyam, and Periya-tiruvandadi of Nammalvar; (iii) The Tiruvelukkurrirukkai, The Siriya tirumadal and Periaya tirumadal of Tirumangai alvar.
31. Pl. 791

32. Viramalai or Vira venbamalai was a much fancied form of prosody in the 16th & 17th centuries.
33. P.I. 966
34. From the dilapidated Siva temple at Madattukoil (Nangupatti Vattam-Nirpalani Firka in Kulattur Taluk) Paiyyur celebrated in this verse is a small hamlet about 2·4 kilometres west of Nangupatti-P.I. 129.

APPENDIX VI

Further Notes.

1. Introduction (page III)-p. 138

On the limited number of Brahmadēyas and their inability to strike roots reference is invited to the paper substantiating this theme by the author on "The Brahmadēyas of Pudukkōṭṭai" contributed to Sri K.R. Srinivasan Felicitation volume (to be published shortly).

2. Nartamalai

The connection between *Disai Āyirathu Ainūṟṟuvar*, a merchant community in their wide spread activity in the mediaeval times and the Nagarattār of Nartamalai has already been brought out vide page No. 20. This connection is confirmed by an inscription in the 38th year o f Māṟavarman Kulasēkara I from Kovilpatti, Kulittalai Taluk, A.D. 1305. (Vide inscription No. 286 p. 80, A.R.E. 1964-65 Reproduced below:)

"Refers to the several sections including *chittiramēlip-periya nāṭṭār* of the merchant guild, Diśai-yāirattu-annūṟṟuvar and to the local representatives of the same called nagarattār from Sundara-śoḻapuram alias Dēśiyugandapaṭṭinam in Ollaiyūr-kūṟṟam, Koḍumbāḷūr maṇikkirāmam, Telingakulakālapuram alias Uttamaśōḻapuram, who had met in the Achchalakaṇḍankā and agreed upon the grant of the Paṭṭaṇappagudi, a toll on several articles of merchandise specified, to the temple to be utilised as capital probably for the services in the temple. Tirumēni-aḻagiyān is referred to as the accountant of Koḍumbāḷūr attached to the samaiya (i.e. the merchant guild)."

3. Viraccilai-On the Suraikkudi Chieftains pp. 37-38

In A.D. 1519 (Bahudānya year) the Sūraikkuḍi chieftain Aḍaikalangāttār alias Nāḍumaditta Vijayālayadēvar had assigned

kārāṇmai rights in Turumā (or Durvāsapuram) to seven garrison chieftains belonging to Tulaiyānilai Samattamūr, and Kamlai (P.I. 732). In the same year three more garrison leaders were granted lands in Ūnaiyūr (A.D. 743) a further grant was added in A.D. 1577 (P.I. 758). The grant was burdened with the condition that they shall follow the Sūraikkuḍi chieftain in campaigns whomsoever he proceeded against and execute all commands of the chieftain. (P.I. 743). Also in Neivāsal (P.I. 742).

In Sōbagiri year on the same day the Sūraikkuḍi chieftain Vijayālayadēvan and the *ūrār* of Thulayānilai (Thulayānūr) granted Jīvitham rights to several beneficiaries presumably to muster men when needed by the chieftain.

The beneficiaries were the following:

1	Kaduvan Karungāḍan	1-½ jīvitam	P.I. 935
2	name lost	4 jīvitam	P.I. 936
3	Pidārasirān and others	lost	P.I. 937
4	Kumattirāppaṭṭa Pillai	(to pay land revenue on the lands and enjoy as jīvitam)	P.I. 938
5	Pūvalai Siṟṟāṇḍi	2 jīvitam 2 *mā mukkāṇi* & 1 *kāṇi*	P.I. 939

Apparently these were arrangements made by Vijayālayathēvar to strengthen their hands against their opponents. It may be noted that the Vaḷudiyūr chieftain, Pallavarāyar and others were inimically disposed towards the Sūraikkuḍi chieftains and the former claimed to have secured Virāccilai in A.D. 1530. (Please see p. 94-95 of the Text).

In Rāngiyam there seems to have been some friction among some new entrants who were assigned revenues or rent on land and the earlier holders of land. This led to skirmishes in the streets, and insecurity on the highway. The ūrār resolved to amicably compose the differences and admit the claim of the new entrants sustained by authentic grants. Anyone who disregarded this resolution of the *ūrār* was to pay 120 *poṇ* as fine to the royal treasury and his share or his land could be resumed and was to be liable to be ostracised. They swore to this effect in the name of Vengaḷanāyaka, the Nāyak

chieftain; they also resolved that the holdings shall also be measured and enjoyed. This, in some measure, reflected the induction of new assignees or claimants for land or land revenue or rental and how they were accommodated in the Nāyak times (on this please see p.39 of the Text).

4. (i) Kudumiyamalai

The brokerage on betal and nuts brought into the Iraṭṭapāḍikoṇḍa cōḻa vaḷanāḍu would suggest (a) the lack of sufficient production of this everyday requirement from within and the need for import. Presumably betel and nuts arrived from the Cauvery delta especially Uṛaiyūr and Srīrangam belt. (p. 73 of the Text)

(ii) The township markets: The townships were economically entwined with their neighbourhood, and other townships in close proximity. The township market was a local market, by and large, though commodities and produce not locally available had to be and were brought in; but for the most part they were economically dependent on their own and neighbouring produce. Their needs were mostly such as could be met by the township agriculture and skills from within. It was a market for raw produce, corn market, grain market and beast market. Some of the principal producing centres like Neyvāsal, Nerkunṛam and Kuḍumiyāmalai or similar neighbouring townships would have set the price and norm for marketing and for conversion of grain yields into cash, Seasonal or non-agricultural needs which could not be met by local artisans and craftsmen were presumably vended by itinerant merchants, their visits often coinciding with the temple festivals.

(iii) Sekkirai (p. 84)

The rate of Sekkiṛai can be gleaned from a grant for a lamp service in 1424 (A.D. 1502) in Tirukkuḷambūr. For one piḷavu (instalment) of 4 nāḻi by the temple measure 1 uri or ½ nāḻi for 4 nāḻi of oil which worked out to 12-½·/. of the oil yield. (Innāyanār koil Maṛakkāl Nānāḻikkāḷ Karambarukku Nālu piḍikki Nāḻiyāl piḷavu onṛukku eṇṇai uriyāha P.I. 722.)

5. Tirumayyam (p. 119)

On the influence of Tirumangai Alvar

The Toṇḍaimān ruler Vijayaranga Cokkanātha Rāmasvāmi Toṇḍaimān as late as in Ś' 1652 (A.D. 1730) claims himself to be the descendant and belonging to the family of the minister (mandiri) of Kaḷḷa-Tirumangai Āḻvār (P.I. 879).

6. Irrigation (p. 148-para 2)

In the 11th year of Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya, two tanks in Tiruvilanguḍi, Kaṟṟanēri and Pērām(būr) tanks were cut open for letting out water (apparently because their holding capacity was exceeded, Irangalāha Uḍaikkayil) Twenty two years later, recallinr this, the Sabhayār of Vikramakēsari Caturvēdimangalam granted some privileges to the Paḷḷars in Puranjēri and in the hamlets, presumably in recognition of their services. (P.I. 550).

(ii) Irrigation (p. 148)

In the 12th year of Rājakēsari Kulōttunga II (A.D. 1145) a rich benefactor from Toṇḍaināḍu, described as the prince of Tiruvetpūg and belonging to the family of the Vēdiyar (Brahmins?) who had the privilege of anointing the king in the coronation had excavated the tank called Tenkaviranāḍan and had built a sluice and calingula for thewaterway. His 'renown' was celebrated in a verse inscribed at Tirugokarnam. He had endowed an ayacut called Ālavayal for the Siva shrine, and built embankments for the tank and excavated the tank bed, and formed channels from the sluices and laid the fields, and dug many wells. But the name of the benefactor was lost in this incomplete inscription. (S.I.I. VII, No. 1044, p. 503).

7. Burden of land dues (p. 192-Last para before the sum up)

In Pingala year in Perungōḷūr Āṇḍi son of Kaitāḍi alias Kulathi-rāyavapp . . . . . was hauled up before or betrayed to the royal officers by the Nāṭṭukkaṇakku Kulōttunga nāḍar Mangaḷamai. The aggrieved castigated him as 'You betrayer before the royal officers, and who handed me over to the Fort (Rājakārathilē kāṭṭi kōṭṭayil kuḍuppānē) and sought amends or revenge (Paḻināḍiyapaḍiyālē). To settle this

dispute the accountant of the Nāḍu transferred his right in his holding Puduvayal Sengāḍan māvaḍisey to the aggrieved person. The recipient Āṇḍi had on his own endowed the land for Svāmi Aḻagu Kulōttunga nāḍar of the Township (Tannaha Ēṛṛa).

This seems to be a late instance of the sanctions of the Nāṭṭār's covenant being availed of to his advantage by an aggrieved person. (P.I. 962). The phrase 'Tannaha Ēṛṛa' might also convey that from his own self-enjoyment the granter might make over the produce to the temple.

8. **Tenures** (p. 203-Jīvitam)

The share of the chieftain, Sriranga Pallavarāyar of Perungōḷūr from his holdings including the Tirunāmattukkāṇi of the temple of Tirukkaṭṭaḷai was stated to be 5 out of 10 or one half of the yield in paddy, grain or cash, in A.D. 1462 (P.I. 711).

(ii) **Social levies** (p. 205)

In Pārtiba year an assemblage of many agreed to levy 1/16 *paṇam* for all loads of trade or traffic proceeding to or from Tanjāvūr or Tiruccirāpaḷḷi Sīmai and the proceeds were endowed for a mid-day service in Kunnāṇḍār kōil. (P.I. 911). It is, however, significant that none of the accredited township bodies, nor even the *nāṭṭar* figure here in this late instance but only a general assemblage of many resolved on the levy.

(iii) **Occupied housesites** (p. 227 paragraph 2)

House-sites privately owned were also endowed to the temple or for Āṇḍār or mendicants in the temple or the maṭha and even fractional shares by the coparceners owing such house-sites. In Annavāsal ¼th share of one party and another ¼th share of house-site held by a few others were severally granted as Dharmadāna by the respective owners to the maṭha. (P.I. 740).

(iv) **Kudiningadevadanam** (p. 284)

As late as in Ś 1424 (A.D. 1502) Vijayālayathēvar of Sūraikkuḍi ordered that Ūṛṛiyūr in Kānanāḍu be enjoyed on Kuḍiningādēvadānam

tenure by the *ūrār* of Tuḷayānilai and Paraḷi. These *ūrārs* were to deliver the share (vāram) at the rates prevalent in the nādu and hold occupancy rights. But they were not to do free labour and pay other customary dues. This confirms the interpretation of the tenure. But this was an instance of collective occupancy and the *ūrār* had to arrange for the actual cultivation of the land (P.I. 720).

9. Padikkaval (p. 270-271)

In the reign of Pokkana uḍayār, (Subhānu year), the Pērāmbūr Arasu, Aḍaikkalankāttār alias Narasingadēvar endowed to Kunnāṇḍār-kōil deity his holding (kāṇi) in Kaṟṟalēripiḍāgai, Malari together with all land dues and obligation; he undertook to pay the land dues thereon to the rulers himself; even if he had to face any calamity and his Chieftaincy was jeopardised the grant shall be protected, meeting any obstacle or hindrance. (P.I. 695).

10. Cases Civil and Criminal

Village disputes and skirmishes (p. 293)

The ūrār of Mīsangilināṭṭu Pudukkuḍi gave a kāval svatantram deed to Vaḷuthiyūr Uḍayār Tiruppanangāvuḍaya nāyanār, Piḷḷai-pallavarāyar and Mangalam ūrār for the help rendered by the latter to the former when there was a village quarrel between the Aṇḍai-kuḷattār and the former. (P.I. 772).

(ii) Social disputes (p. 302)

A late agreement in Citrabhānu year was given by one Kāraiyūr Vēḷān to 3 ½ kammāḷar of the place. The latter were asked to wipe off the face of the Vēḷār, an act which they had never done before. They refused and left, and thereafter the Vēḷār agreed not to ask the Kammāḷar to do such a disagreable act. (P.I. 909).

11. On the unit of measurement

While the *mā* was 1/20 of a vēli (33 cents) the break-up of the *mā* into the number of *kuḷis* varied with the length of the measuring rod or pole used. In some cases it was 16 feet rod, and consequently

the square area of a *mā* was 256 *kuḻis*. In others it was 18 feet pole, and hence the square area 324 *kuḻis* or in multiples of 18. There was a rod of 24 feet and the square areas was 576 *kuḻis*. The Pudukkottai Manual gives one instance of 522 *kuḻis* for a *mā* based on 18 feet rod. Inscriptions often specify the length of the unit measuring rod used, and there were even particular measuring rods named after the townships in which each was used.



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XI	F.N. 2 ..	is use	is used
3	9 from top ..	an extensive	and extensive
3	13 from top ..	IInd empire	II empire
10	14 from top ..	defraying for expenses	hefraying the expenses.
11	3 from bottom ..	stone (mason)	stone mason
26	16 from bottom	were	was
32	2 from top ..	*After* " Puducceri-udaiyan Tambiran . . . . "	*Add* " came and a Sandhi was instituted in his name by the "—
33	5 from bottom ..	and	who
36	7 from bottom ..	to invoke	for invoking
44	9 from bottom ..	have	has
52	5 from bottom ..	elder	younger
75	12 from bottom	at 2/5	at 5/2
80	5 from top ..	The *kilirai, Pisanam, Sirukodai*	The *Kilirai* on *Pisanam, Sirukodai*
83	17 from top ..	Danam perran Kuikadu for *Palankasu* 205 and paddy 10 *kalam.*	Danam perran Kudikadu and another parcel for *Palankasu* 25, and 11 *kalams.*
106	7 from top ..	a culprit	the culprit
119	21 from top ..	with were	which were
20	8 from top ..	the inscription	the inscriptions
27	2 from top ..	vendor	vendee
31	10 from top ..	The land	The lands
32	4 from top ..	*Periya Tirumadal*	*Periya Tirumoli* and *Periya Thirumadal*

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read/Substitute*
136	F.N. 18 ..	P. I. 680	P. I. 685
137	11 from top ..	they gather	the former gather
143	15 from top ..	was breached	were breached
148	6 from top ..	breaches and repairs	while breach-repairs.
163	20 from top ..	after *payirpartu*	*add* F.N. 147 (in samall letters)
170A	F.N. 142, line 18 from top.	service	source
181	7 from top ..	a nagar	nagara
190	14 from top ..	were	was
199	last line ..	after *varisai*	*add* ' and *kadamai* '
206	14 from bottom.	bound	abound
207	16 from bottom.	grantee	grantor
230	15 from top ..	a portion of the temple.	a portion of the yield to the temple
233	13 from top ..	2/5	3/5
235	4 from bottom ..	lands and	lands was
235	5 from bottom ..	was to endow	and to endow
236	9 from bottom ..	the recovery rate of oil.	the realisation rate for oil.
237	Table under " *Palangarai* " last column.	Dry lands 1/16	Dry lands 1/6
241	8 from top ..	that would	*omit* ' that '
257	last line should read.		The structure of the township was communal and its responsibilities.
267	4 and 5 from top.	con- also veys	conveys also
294	23 from top ..	" . . . shall make amends . . . . by them " and before (Angu Vidittapadi Pratyam pannungal).	*substitute* : " . . shall adduce proof and convince them by ordeal as prescribed there."

Page	Line	For	Read/Substitute
314	15 from top ..	unclaimed	unoccupied
314	3 from bottom ..	tought justice	sought justice
318	11 and 12 from bottom.	he shall be stabbed abreast	he shall be stabbed in the breast
322	19 from top ..	itself	themselves
323	16 from top ..	was	were
339	15 from top ..	or it was	or got
340	15 from top ..	oftener and	and oftener
352	5 from top ..	Kadis lillaituppad Kalattine	Kadisollillai-Kalattuppadine
352	Para 3 line 2 ..	suggestion	suggestions
352	5 from bottom ..	adverity	adversity
354	2 from top ..	Paludai	Paludai
354	Para 6 line 2 ..	Visnu	Vishnu
356	5 from bottom ..	Kudutha Pogace	Kuduthal Pogacce
357	Note (3) (Glossay) ..	The letter "S"	The letters "So"
384c	2 from top ..	(Sale fo . . . .)	(Sale for . . . .)
388	1 from top ..	. . . . C a	. . . . . Ca
388	6 from bottom ..	persvadedly	persuadedly
389	first line ..	Mitaksara also clarifies that the soverign is to avoid boundary disputes.	Mitaksara also clarifies that the consent of the sovereign is to avoid boundary disputes.
389	12 from top ..	demad	demand
389	13 from bottom.	wih	with
392	10 from top ..	reversonary	reversionary
396	17 from bottom.	throughuot	throughout
398	Foot Note 6 ..	Test	Text
400	2 from bottom ..	preserve	preserved
401	11 from top ..	Tevarams	Tevaram

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read/Substitute*
408	Under item 2—Nartamalai—line 4.	Page No. 20	Page 20
408	14 from top ..	from Sundarasolapuram alias Desiyugandapattinam in Ollaiyurkurram, Kodumbalur manikkiramam, Telingakulakalapuram alias Uttamasolapuram . . .	from Sundarasolapuram alias Desiyugandapattinam in Ollaiyurkurram, i.e., Sundaram in Tirumeyyam Taluk, Kodumbalur manikkiramam, Telingakulakalapuram, alias Kulonttungacolapattanam and Koraiyur alias Uttamasolapuram . . .
408	Under item 2—Nartamalai—second para.		*Add* : after the words :.. (i.e., the merchant guild)" the following :—(*See* also *ibid* 285)
410	Under item 4 (ii) line 4 from bottom.		
411	Under item 6—Irrigation—		
	Line 4 ..	recallinr	recalling
471	Under para 6 (ii) Irrigation—		
	Line 2 ..	Tiruvetpug	Tiruvetpur
472	8 from top ..	granter	grantor

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